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ANNALS of WYOMING

Volume 56, Number 1
Spring, 1984

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ABOUT THE COVER—Shoshone warrior Moragootch proudly wore his most effulgent finery for this photographic portrait. It is one of nearly a hundred "carte de visite" pictures made by Baker and Johnston of Evanston in 1882 or 1883. "Carte de visite" photographs were one of the most interesting customs of the 19th century. Victorians produced, exchanged and collected them — literally by the thousands. Today, photographs of this nature are some of the most important visual documents available to history researchers. The Baker and Johnston collection includes not only the self-confident Moragootch, but other Shoshone, Arapaho, Yuma, Mohave and Apache Indians. Interestingly enough, Toos Day Zay, the wife of Cochise is among those represented.

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ANNALS OF WYOMING is published biannually in the Spring and Fall by the Wyoming State Press. It is received by all members of the Wyoming State Historical Society as the official publication of that organization. Copies of previous and current issues may be purchased from the Editor. Correspondence should be addressed to the Editor. Published articles represent the views of the author and are not necessarily those of the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department or the Wyoming State Historical Society. ANNALS OF WYOMING articles are abstracted in Historical Abstracts. America: History and Life.

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WYOMING STATE PRESS
MANAGING EDITOR

William H. Barton

Indians and Politicians: The Origins of a "Western" Attitude Toward Native Americans in Wyoming 1868-1906

by Steven C. Schulte*

The political history of Wyoming and other Western states has always been tied closely with the region's American Indian population. From the much studied and romanticized Indian war years of the 19th century to today's history seeking tourist, the Native American remains important both as symbol of a distant past, and as an actual presence in the state's population.¹

A survey of 20th century Wyoming politicians and their attitudes toward American Indian policy reveals great intellectual linkage with the frontier era. Indeed, the persistence of frontier traits and attitudes among Wyoming politicians offers a revealing index to the overall Western attitude toward Native Americans.² Unfortunately, little historical scholarship exists to document this relationship. As a result, this study is a tentative exploration into what promises to be a most exciting topic. Yet several observations that have guided this inquiry can be offered.

Obviously, to understand the 20th century's antithetical and often troubled relationship between Western politicians and Indians, a strong grasp of its 19th century roots is necessary. Since the 1860s, Indian affairs in American politics has been distinctly a "Western issue." Westerners, from the frontier days to the present have tended to view Indians and Indian land as just one more obstacle in the frontier experience to overcome. More recently, Indian land has been coveted by white ranchers, real estate developers and energy interests who view reservation land as some of the last exploitable frontier regions. This attitude, characteristic of Western white "boosters," which advocates seizing and developing Indian land, is the primary element of continuity linking together over a century of Indian relations in the West.³

To most Western politicians, Indian affairs has been largely a local issue or problem — something the federal government or Bureau of Indian Affairs had no right to tamper with. Westerners have considered themselves to

be experts on the "Indian problem" by virtue of their residence near the major areas of Indian population. Many politicians have supported legislative goals, both in the 19th and 20th centuries to maximize "freedom" for individual Indians. This legislation tends to allow Indians the unrestricted opportunity to dispose of their property. It also has the net effect of lessening tribal bonds. Wyoming's politicians, with only a few exceptions, have reflected this outlook, an attitude toward Indian affairs which began forming when the first politically ambitious men flocked to the railhead town of Cheyenne in 1867.⁴

Wyoming's early years, from original settlement to around 1900, witnessed the formulation and crystallization of prejudicial frontier attitudes toward Native Americans. Indians were perceived by both politicians and the frontier white population in a dichotomized fashion: either they were "good" and "noble savages" or "bad" and "brutal" Indians. Wyoming politicians reacted to most Indian actions through an understanding of these dual images. They also deliberately manipulated the "good-bad Indian" dichotomy to achieve political and Indian policy goals.⁵

The "good" Indian image is best represented by the dealings of early Wyoming politicians with the Wind River Reservation tribes, the Shoshone and Arapahoe. Images of the "good" and "noble" Indian are best exemplified in official relations with Washakie, the longtime leader of the Eastern Shoshone.⁶ To many Wyomingites, Washakie appeared to be the wisest and noblest Indian who ever walked Wyoming's landscape. As Robert Berkhofer has noted, the image of the "good" Indian to whites suggested

*The author would like to thank the Wyoming Council for the Humanities for its generous funding of this study.

"ease of exploitation. . . ." The "good" Indian made the accomplishment of European settlement, "religious conversion, and labor exploitation seem as easy as it was presumed profitable to White and Red alike." To territorial Wyomingites, Chief Washakie epitomized the Noble Savage. His foresight in accommodating the white man caused Euroamericans to celebrate him as a true friend who had chosen the best road for his people; to opt for cooperation instead of violent confrontation.⁷

The "bad Indian" image is best represented in the period to 1900 by the "hostile" Indians of the high plains, the Sioux and their allies. Early settlers of Wyoming invaded the last great refuge of these Indians, who, unlike the Shoshone, resisted the white invasion of their homeland. The negative image is best illustrated in territorial opinion of Sioux leader Red Cloud, who waged a successful campaign from 1866 to 1868 to eradicate the United States military presence from what would later constitute Northeastern Wyoming.⁸

These disparate images evolved from the first settlement of Wyoming in 1867, at the height of the so-called Red Cloud's War in the Powder River region, to the 1890s, when frontier military hostilities had concluded. However, these images gradually developed an existence of their own and have conditioned politicians' responses to Indian policy questions into the 20th century.

White frontier prejudice against Indians manifested itself early in the territory's history. In this formative period, all Indians posed both a psychological and real threat to the "pioneer" population. Few of the settlers along the Union Pacific's path bothered to differentiate between Shoshone and Sioux, "friendly" and "unfriendly" Indians. The earliest settlements in Wyoming, however, and the largest population centers in the territory's first years (Cheyenne and Laramie for example) occurred in the land of the Sioux and Arapahoe. Both tribes bitterly resented this massive population influx. Conversely, the first settlers often expressed shock and horror to discover that a serious "problem" with the Indians still remained. Thus the seeds of the negative Sioux image existed from the beginnings of white settlement.

Reports of the 1866 Fetterman Massacre, as well as the constant Indian-white warfare along the Bozeman Trail in northern Wyoming shocked the nation into a serious reconsideration of its Indian policy.⁹ The founding of Wyoming in 1867 and 1868 occurred during a time of transition in federal Indian relations. Eastern politicians, philanthropists and missionaries demanded a more humane Indian policy. After all, Quaker critics reasoned, the "Indian problem" seemed as far from resolution after a century of emphasizing violence as ever. Reformers demanded a policy that moved away from the traditional military emphasis. This desire to alter the course of federal Indian policy reflected the deep Congressional discouragement at the great number of military reverses, as well as the rising costs of frontier military expenditures. Ironically,

it was at this crossroads in federal Indian relations that the future territory and state of Wyoming began receiving its first white settlers.¹⁰

The Fetterman disaster and the deteriorating relations with the northern Wyoming tribes made it imperative for federal officials to effect a treaty to ensure the safety of the region's growing white population. But the Sioux, after completing two years of highly successful warfare along the Bozeman Road were in no mood to negotiate. When a federal peace commission arrived in Cheyenne during the fall of 1867 to start treaty talks, the Indians held complete control of the Powder River area; the Bozeman Trail, for all practical purposes, was closed.¹¹

The Peace Commissioners arrived in Cheyenne only to be greeted with extreme cynicism and derision by the city's denizens. "The efforts of these sagacious pow-wows will be to drive the remaining ranchmen scattered along the Platte into the towns and forts for safety and protection," the *Cheyenne Daily Leader* (newspaper) predicted. Cheyenne's citizens sincerely believed that the Indian threat could nip the young settlement's life in the bud of its first year. To many in the frontier population, Indian relations were a struggle for survival. Savagery (the Indian) would win unless the white population quickly asserted itself. The *Cheyenne Daily Leader* announced the frontiersman's formula to accomplish this goal: ". . . right or wrong, extermination [of the Indians] is a favorite idea of the people of the Plains."¹²



Chief Washakie

AMH PHOTO

The arrival of the Union Pacific Railroad in Cheyenne during November, 1867, sparked a temporary optimism about the otherwise dire Indian situation. "The grave of the Lo Family is dug, and the Eastern Lo sentiment shall be buried with it, and the poisonous arrow and treacherous tomahawk shall henceforth be harmlessly shelved in the alcoves of the museum," the *Cheyenne Daily Leader* proclaimed. But soon drab reality reasserted itself. The fall parley of the Peace Commission was a miserable failure, as most of the leading Indian patriots, including Red Cloud, refused to consider signing a treaty until the United States military posts along the Bozeman Trail were abandoned.¹³

As the Peace Commission continued its efforts at assembling a representative body of Indian leaders, Wyoming residents expressed unrestrained disapproval of the Commission's intentions. In early March, 1868, Wyomingites learned, much to their dismay and anger, that the *sine qua non* of Red Cloud's demands was indeed the abandonment of the Bozeman Road fortifications. Soon thereafter, a panic wave swept throughout the young territory. Reports filtered to Cheyenne of clashes with Indians to the north and local citizens grew both frightened and skeptical of the proposed treaty. As the editor of the *Cheyenne Daily Leader* remarked:

If they [the Treaty commissioners] should succeed in accomplishing these or any one of these miracles [peace], they may next be expected to walk upon the waters and quell rebellions in the troubled ocean.¹⁴

Several days before, reports had reached Cheyenne that "all of the old settlers and mountaineers" of the Fort Laramie district, men who "are not easily frightened by Indians," had fled to military posts for protection because they believed that the Indians are leagued together "for a general war of extermination of all whites." Such news bred both panic and hatred among the frontier population. The *Leader* predicted that during the coming summer (1868) the plains "to the west, north, and east of this city will be the scene of the bloodiest and most extensive Indian war which the United States has ever known."¹⁵

Cheyenne citizens wanted to be ready if the Indians opted for war. In May a Cheyenne mass meeting sent a memorial to the United States Congress stating that they did not wish to be "barbarous to our barbarian enemies," but requested that the United States government either "protect us, or grant us the privilege of protecting ourselves." While the dreaded "war of extermination" failed to materialize, Sioux Chief Red Cloud's ultimatum for peace continued to anger many Wyomingites. Late summer and fall saw the removal of Forts Reno, Phil Kearny and C. F. Smith. Finally, in November, 1868, Red Cloud agreed to sign the treaty.¹⁶

Treatymaking to the Wyoming frontier population indicated both weakness and capitulation to "savage" demands. One editor complained that Red Cloud had "dictated" the treaty terms. The 1868 treaties with both

the Sioux and Shoshone "will be found to have been more important in . . . reduction of the privilege of the white man than in advancing the conditions of the Indians." In fact, Wyoming citizens immediately began clamoring for the revocation of both treaties. The first Wyoming Territorial Legislature, for example, drafted a resolution asking Congress to dismantle the Shoshone Treaty of 1868.¹⁷

From 1868 to 1900, Wyoming politicians and citizens participated in a concerted though unofficial campaign to minimize the impact of all Indians upon territorial affairs and daily life. This "campaign" had two goals: to remove the "hostile" Sioux from the territory, and to lock the Shoshone upon a diminished Wind River Reservation. After 1876 and the final removal of the Sioux from Wyoming, the territory's remaining Indians, the Shoshone and Arapahoe, were increasingly viewed as a "nuisance." Whites believed the Natives occupied valuable land which could be better utilized by an energetic and enterprising Anglo-American population. Thus acquisition of Indian land is a dominant theme in Wyoming's political relations with the Wind River tribes after the more pressing business had been taken care of, the expulsion of the Sioux.

To the outside world, Indian conflicts and Wyoming were synonymous during the late 19th century. For many years, Denver's *Rocky Mountain News* (newspaper) wrote almost solely about Wyoming's Indian troubles when it mentioned the territory. Nevertheless, Indian relations were a reality of frontier existence. From the start, Wyoming's politicians turned their attention toward the numerous problems created when one culture encroached upon another culture's land.¹⁸

Wyoming's first Territorial Legislature sought to take care of both dimensions of its Indian troubles: the "hostile" Sioux and the Shoshone. Apparently acting out of a sense of frustration that the federal government would never solve Western Indian problems, the Wyoming Legislature's Council resolved to call for a meeting of other Western territorial governors,

for the purpose of making a simultaneous movement against the hostile Indians [Sioux and allies] with militia or volunteer troops and set forever to rest the Indian question, and give Western settlers and their families that protection which they have hitherto asked for in vain.¹⁹

Several days later, the Council submitted another resolution to Congress asking for "a modification or abrogation of the 1868 treaty with the Shoshones. The Wyoming Territorial Legislature adopted both resolutions.²⁰

Wyoming's first Territorial Governor, John A. Campbell (served 1869-75), and his successor, John Thayer (1875-78), concentrated upon removing the Sioux threat. The 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty gave the Sioux control of Wyoming land north of the North Platte River and east of the Big Horn Mountains, a situation that distressed Wyomingites. Campbell argued that the treaty should be rescinded because it gave the Sioux, a people who had no use for the land, absolute control over Wyoming's



Cheyenne in 1867, home of the Territorial Legislature.

AMH PHOTO

"richest" lands. Every Indian invasion south of the Platte helped justify, in officials' eyes, the breaking of the Fort Laramie Treaty. Campbell also agreed that a "modification" of the Shoshone Treaty of 1868 was in order. He was the first Wyoming official to suggest a form of land allotment for the Wind River Indians. In his annual message Campbell advised giving the Shoshone only "as much arable land as will by proper cultivation yield him a support and no more." This idea evolved from governor to governor and eventually helped justify drastic land reductions among the Wind River tribes in 1906. Furthermore, Campbell argued that both the Sioux and the Shoshone lands within the territory needed a quick "reduction" or the "settlement of the country [will be] retarded." The Indian impediment to Wyoming's progress became a standard theme in politicians' demands for dispossession of Native land.²¹

The Sioux territory, officially termed "Unceded Indian Land," seemed especially inviting to Westerners. Rumors that gold abounded in the Big Horn Mountains only served to exacerbate the frustrations of the white citizenry. President Ulysses S. Grant's so-called "Peace Policy" further antagonized frontier whites who believed that its emphasis on Indian reconciliation proved that distant Washington cared little about the West. A liberal easterner, Edward M. Lee, after spending but one year in the heady frontier atmosphere of Cheyenne, demonstrated how quickly racial attitudes changed amidst Western conditions. He wrote that "no lasting peace can be enjoyed until these accursed savages have been thoroughly whipped." In 1873, Campbell still argued in messages to his Interior Department superiors that the northeastern part of the territory, "if properly cultivated would yield subsistence to *civilized* [emphasis added] people many times the number of non-producing savages now occupying it."²²

Wyoming politicians and citizens continued to demand the opening of the unceded Sioux land. In 1873, the Territorial Legislature called attention to "Indian outrages" in Wyoming in response to the news that the United States Government was acting to protect its citizens residing in Spain from violence. In outrage, council member T. W. Quinn of Sweetwater County offered a resolution that the United States should take care of its domestic citizens first. He asked "the President of the United States to take into consideration the propriety of protecting American citizens at home [on the Wyoming frontier] as well as abroad."²³ The next year, General George Armstrong Custer, in flagrant violation of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, led 1,000 men into the Dakota Black Hills on a "reconnaissance" mission. His reports indicated the presence of gold, touching off a series of events that led to a massive migration to that region, as well as the removal of the Sioux from northeastern Wyoming. As early as September, 1874, a Cheyenne editor enthusiastically predicted, "We think we can safely assure our readers that this section of country [northeastern Wyoming] will be opened to settlement within the next twelve months."²⁴

Despite the previous year's optimism, the Sioux, to the white population's dismay, continued to reside in Wyoming. Thayer, a veteran frontier politician, in 1875 announced grandiose plans for what he believed was the imminent opening of the northern regions. He requested a memorial to Congress asking for the reconstruction of a wagon road to Montana, similar to the old Bozeman Route. The Legislature complied with a memorial that, in tone, all but counted the remaining days of the Sioux in the area. This resolution, introduced by Laramie County's W. L. Kuykendall, stated that it was drawn "in relation to the Sioux Indians and the settlement and development [by whites] of certain country claimed by them."²⁵

In his annual address for 1875, Thayer prayed for the abrogation of the 1868 Sioux treaty. After all, the Indians had violated the treaty despite the good faith shown by federal authorities, he argued. Of course, the governor chose to make no reference to Custer's journey to the Black Hills. "It is a well settled principle in law," Thayer lectured, "that when one party to an agreement ignores its provisions, the other is absolved from all obligation to respect them." Furthermore, "Those lands are no use to the Indians . . . they neither cultivate the soil nor develop the wealth beneath." Thayer ended his revealing address with a recommendation for a "new policy with the Red Men," one that would make the government the "guardian," to treat them "as its wards, and control all their actions." Thayer and other frontier citizens believed treaty making had reached a farcical stage. The Indian continually violated treaties, and, like children, "they are incapable of determining what is for their own good." Thus Thayer and most Wyomingites suggested that the only way to solve the "Indian problem" was with force — military subjugation, followed closely by a program of involuntary Americanization. Ironically, this "Western prescription" became the course followed by Indian policymakers.²⁶

In 1876, three United States Cavalry units entered the "Unceded Indian Country" of northeastern Wyoming to herd any "hostile" Indians found back to designated Indian agencies, mostly in present-day South Dakota. Following the Custer debacle²⁷ in June, 1876, the last of the resisting Indians, mostly Sioux, but also some Cheyenne and Arapahoe, were removed from their former homeland. The final subjugation of the Sioux again spurred Thayer to eloquence. By extinguishing Indian title to the Powder River region, "the settlement of Northern Wyoming, hitherto prevented by marauding Indians, will now go forward, and its mineral and pastoral wealth be made available by the industry of the settler." Wyoming residents seemed to breathe a collective sigh of relief following the removal of the Sioux. Wyoming stock growers, who had for so long chafed at the restraints that the federal government had imposed upon them because of the 1868 treaty, readied themselves to move northward as soon as possible. As an 1877 guidebook portrayed the atmosphere of that year:

. . . the Wyoming of today glows with a new life. Peace has dawned, so suddenly that the long fettered frontier has scarce awakened from its ten years of darkened dreaming. . . . To define the thrill which permeates the frame of the first herdsman who pushes his flocks northward across the Platte River . . . and sets his feet firmly upon "Indian ground" might also be a prosy task in the East, but in the valleys of Wyoming it will be an exciting tingle never to be forgotten.

As historian T. A. Larson has summarized, during the 1870s "it was touch and go whether Wyoming could survive as a separate entity, as one problem after another defied solution."²⁸

Wyoming's concern with Indians and Indian land nonetheless continued after 1877. While the Sioux still occasionally inspired fear because of their proximity to

much of Wyoming, relations with the Shoshone and Arapahoes, the tribes of the Wind River Reservation, dominated the territory's minds and images for the rest of the century. Yet the "Sioux era," those years from original settlement to 1877 helped form a prejudicial mindset among the frontier population. A frame of reference that has colored political dealings with Indians into the present century.

With the diminishing of the Sioux threat, Wyomingites only had to contend directly with the Shoshone and Arapahoe tribes. The Shoshones had occupied the Wind River Reservation since its creation in 1868. The Arapahoes had been moved to Wind River against the will of the Shoshones in 1877.²⁹

While these tribes became the embodiment of the "good" Indian image, fear and prejudice still marked politicians' and neighboring whites' relations with them. It is interesting and significant that politicians frequently contrasted the "good" and "orderly" behavior of the Wind River tribes with the "hostile" actions of Wyoming's old nemeses, the Sioux. Both Wyoming tribes, aware of possible advantages of doing so, portrayed themselves as peaceful and cooperative with both territorial and federal officials. This led to an evolving, positive image of the Wind River tribes among white politicians, a reputation enhanced by the cooperation obtained by the federal government in dealings with them for reservation lands. Yet among neighboring whites and among the politicians themselves, prejudicial stereotypes existed that undermined Indian-white relations leading to mutual fears and distrust.³⁰ Several highly instructive case studies demonstrate how the overall Indian image in Wyoming evolved from "savage" to "nuisance."

In 1878, Wind River area settlers believed that an Indian war was imminent. Rumors of Shoshone and Arapahoe discontent and possible uprisings spread fear among white ranchers in northcentral Wyoming. Especially bothersome to the stockmen were Indian raids on white-owned cattle. Conflict between Indians and ranchers is a persistent theme in the period from 1880 to 1900. In part, it represented a continuation of the old conflict between two cultures, with the new Euroamerican culture trying to displace the Native inhabitants. To many of the white ranchers, federal Indian policy was "stupid, foolish, sentimental, hypocritical, and venal in execution." The ranchers' goals and values naturally conflicted with the aims of the Indian tribes, who, above all, were attempting to make a fast adjustment to a radically changing world.³¹

Territorial Governor John Hoyt (1878-82) heard rumors of the impending "Indian outbreak" in the Wind River region. Hoyt recalled that the "Shoshones and Arapahoes were getting belligerent and making threats of a very alarming character." In conference with Washakie of the Shoshones and Black Coal of the Arapahoes, Hoyt learned that the Indians' complaints had been well-founded. Late

delivery of rations and clothing, dwindling food supplies and disappearing game had pushed the tribes to the brink of desperation. Tribesmen, to avoid starvation had resorted to stealing stock from neighboring whites. As Washakie candidly assessed the situation:

What, then, shall we do but, in some way, force attention to our unhappy condition? We cannot endure it longer, and must break away, in the hope of finding, among the whites outside, the things not furnished us here. If we kill a lot of them [cattle] in getting what belongs to us, the fault will not be ours.

After discussing matters carefully with the Indians, Hoyt arranged for a quick distribution of food and clothing to defuse the potentially serious situation. This incident is highly representative of the type of Indian-white conflicts that characterized the post-military era in Wyoming. Through federal neglect of the Indian trust responsibility, desperate and starving Indians often resorted to stealing white ranchers' property. Such situations helped alienate white ranchers and local politicians from the federal government and contributed to the growth of negative stereotypes relating to the "dirty, poverty-stricken thieves," the Indians.³²

The problems of tribal adjustment to a restricted land area became severely complicated by an increasing white presence and demand for Indian lands. As the 1880s turned into the 1890s, the Wind River Indians and other tribesmen came to be viewed not so much as sources of danger, but as a species of troublemaker. The Shoshone and Arapahoe, occupants of comparatively good reservation lands, incited the wrath of many whites who believed the area could be better utilized by "enterprising" Euroamericans. Indian-white relations in Wyoming further deteriorated because of encroachment on reservation resources by white cattlemen who often trespassed stock to graze free. Indians complained that their stock often mysteriously disappeared while the herds of surrounding white ranchers kept growing.³³

Nothing is more common in Western American history than the "incessant demands from the West for the reduction of Indian lands." Similarly, Wyoming residents during the 1880s and 1890s began complaining steadily about what could be termed one of the state's first significant "law and order" problems — Indians leaving the reservation to steal white-owned stock. Wyoming governors during the 1880s read letters everyday from citizens who feared Indian uprisings.³⁴ In the northeastern part of the state, settlers still distrusted the Sioux. As Territorial Governor Francis E. Warren (1885-86) remarked, the Sioux "have given Wyoming more or less annoyance and anxiety through their marauding incursions from time to time."³⁵ In the West, the Arapahoe and Shoshone still posed threats, but largely in citizens' minds. To the north, the Crow and Northern Cheyennes, residents of southern Montana, occasionally frightened Powder River Basin residents.

Most frontier citizens failed to realize that the Indians,

while still resenting the white presence, only wanted the basic necessities of life — food and clothing. Thus they resorted to leaving the reservations to scavenge, not because of some old marauding instinct, but from dire necessity. If blame must be placed somewhere, it should be laid at the door of a malfunctioning federal Indian policy. Tragically, the "scares" caused by Indians walking away from the reservation occurred because of a misunderstanding of Indian motives. But perhaps more importantly the "panics" erupted because of already crystallized frontier prejudice against the Indians. The image of the loathsome savage still permeated Wyoming's white settlements. Yet two somewhat contradictory images continued to dominate Wyoming attitudes toward Native Americans near the end of the century. A positive image was held by frontier land promoters and politicians who desired to acquire Indian land or make political capital from Indian-related issues. More influential, however, was the negative "bad" Indian image, which, as a line of continuity from the days of the Indian wars, continued to be the dominant image among Wyomingites. Interestingly, Wyoming politicians seemed equally adept at manipulating both images to achieve political and personal goals.

Indian "scares" continued to be a problem for Wyoming settlers during the 1880s and 1890s. Complaints about Natives' "visiting" neighboring whites' cattle herds often led to fears of possible Indian uprisings. As an example, Warren wrote to the commanding officer at Fort McKinney in 1885 about one such panic. Warren demanded to know if any grounds existed for the alarm, "or is this one of our periodical scares for which the frontier is noted?"³⁶

Proposed solutions to the Indian difficulties took several forms. The most innocuous answer was to memorialize the United States Congress for action. In February, 1866, a Wyoming House Joint Resolution asked Congress to confine Indians strictly to the Wind River Reservation. Warren habitually tacked this suggestion to the end of his reports to the Secretary of the Interior. Territorial Governor William Hale (1882-85) reported on another, more forceful proposed solution. The Wyoming Stockgrowers' Association had threatened to "arm their herdsmen and drive the Indians away from the ranges." But the most common suggestion concerned an overall change in the direction of federal Indian policy. This strategy was clearly rooted in the desires of stockmen and others to gain access to Indian lands.³⁷

Wyoming politicians stood squarely behind the movement during the 1880s for the allotment of Indian land in severalty. For once, both Eastern philanthropists and Western "land grab" interests could support the same movement, though for vastly different reasons. Reformers envisioned allotment as the magic formula that would transform Indians into civilized agriculturalists. Westerners believed allotment provided the most efficient and acceptable method to gain access to "surplus" Indian lands.

Clearly, the factor which swung Western support behind the bill that became the General Allotment or Dawes Act of 1887 was the provision allowing the Secretary of the Interior to purchase any unallotted lands for resale to private interests.³⁸

The idea of allotment received widespread support in Wyoming. The *Laramie Boomerang* (newspaper) followed the legislative progress of the bill closely, hailing it as a "sensible proposition to treat the Indian the same as the white man," — this is the type of Western reasoning that has come to characterize "Western" solutions to Indian policy problems. At the bottom of such "solutions" are usually Indian land or resource grab schemes. The Dawes Act can be called the first Western non-military initiative in Indian policy. As the *Boomerang* later explained how the plan might work:

If one or two tribes could be induced to lead off in this course [allotment] the others will gradually follow. As fast as the reservations are broken up the surplus lands can be transferred to the public domain.³⁹

In a lighter editorial supporting the plan, the *Boomerang* argued that the present plan of concentrating Indians upon reservations was convenient for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but not good for the Indians. The writer might have also added "Western whites" to his last idea. The *Boomerang* reasoned:

Indians are much like college boys, the more sociable they are, the more worthless they are apt to become . . . scattering them would have a much better effect, since they would thus be compelled at least to work in order to get through the time.⁴⁰

The Dawes Act only temporarily sated the land-hunger appetites of Wyomingites. Later amendments to the bill made it easier for whites to gain access to Indian land. On a national basis, Native Americans lost over 90,000,000 acres of land to whites from 1887 to 1934, the years of the Act's operation. In Wyoming, Warren had reported that after all the Indians had received land in severalty, over 2,500,000 acres of Wind River Reservation land could be opened to white settlement.⁴¹

Two more great movements to gain access to Wind River Reservation land occurred during this era. Both Wyoming politicians, and white landowners applied extreme pressures to Shoshone and Arapahoe tribal leaders to force these cessions. In 1897, a Congressional act ratified an April, 1896, agreement with the Arapahoe and Shoshone tribes which ceded the Big Horn Hot Springs to the United States for \$60,000. During this transaction, 55,040 acres passed from Indian control.⁴²

Several years later, Indian land fever again struck Wyoming politicians who rightly calculated that great political rewards could be reaped from forcing Indian land cessions. This movement, which culminated in the "largest land grab of all," realized Warren, Campbell and other Wyoming politicians' dreams of opening the Wind River Reservation to white settlement, "except what may be necessary for the support of the Indians." While the idea

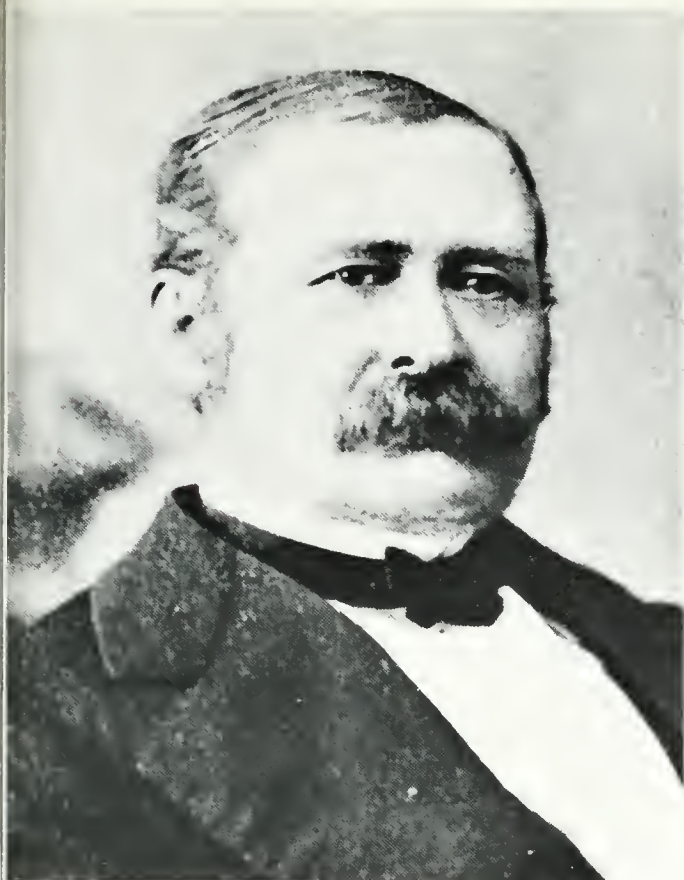


AMH PHOTO

*Territorial Governor John Campbell (above),
and Edward Lee (below).*



AMH PHOTO



John Thayer

AMH PHOTO



Francis Emroy Warren

AMH PHOTO

to open the northern one-third of the reservation (above the Wind River) to general settlement had long been discussed, the movement did not gain credibility or momentum until Fenimore Chatterton and DeForest Richards, two ambitious politicians, began to agitate the issue during the 1898 political campaign.⁴³

During that campaign, Republican Governor candidate Richards and Secretary of State nominee Chatterton resolved, if elected, that they would initiate a movement to open the reservation to white settlement. They met some surprising opposition from entrenched white cattlemen who had enjoyed a monopoly of cheap reservation leasing rights. But with the full cooperation and support of Wyoming's Congressional delegation, especially Congressman Frank Mondell, the government forced a treaty or agreement upon the Wind River tribes. The agreement, reached in 1904, was ratified by Congress in 1905 and the lands opened to settlement August 15, 1906.⁴⁴

The 1904 land cession demonstrated the great distance Wyoming's Indian relations had traveled since the fearful days of 1867. The tribes, for a long time no military threat, had been stripped of any diplomatic power with the death of Washakie in 1900. Well before his death, the Shoshones embodied the "noble" Indian in Wyoming eyes in stark contrast with the Sioux. The best explanation for this positive assessment of the Shoshone relates to their alliance with the United States against their traditional enemies, the Sioux, during the 1870s military campaigns.

But a better explanation of the Shoshone image was their usual cooperation with government goals for land cessions. As one person has observed, the whites of that region "could feel glad that they only had to deal with a Washakie . . . not the treacherous Sitting Bull and Red Cloud."⁴⁵

The political machinations surrounding the enactment of the 1904 agreement offer a final, revealing glimpse of how Western politicians could exploit Indians and Indian-related issues. Local white citizens had lobbied among the tribe before the agreement had been voted upon encouraging Indians to approve the bill. H. E. Wadsworth, the government Indian agent clearly favored the bill and exerted his influence to gain Indian approval. Despite evidence of formidable Indian opposition, the government, Wyoming politicians, and local commercial interests, using pressure tactics, barely managed to muster enough Indian signatures to ratify the pact. Many of the Shoshones later admitted they had only signed the agreement because "Congress was going to enact the legislation anyhow."⁴⁶ The opening of the Wind River Reservation in 1904 left the Shoshone and Arapahoe Indians with but 808,500 acres out of an original reservation of over 3,000,000.⁴⁷

A report issued by the Bureau of Indian Affairs justified the opening of the reservation on the grounds that proceeds from the land sales would be used for the construction of Indian irrigation systems. While this represented the "official" explanation, Wyoming Governor

Bryant B. Brooks' reasons are far more realistic and candid. His version of the opening strikes at the heart of why Wyoming and Western politicians, once the military phase of Indian relations had ended, could carelessly trample Indian rights.

Both President [Theodore] Roosevelt and the Secretary of the Interior favor the opening of the reservation, two of the largest railroad systems, namely the Northwestern and the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy have surveyed lines west into this territory, and state they will start construction work if the Reservation is thrown open. This would not only mean a great development [sic] and rapid progress for Wyoming, but would also lead to the extension of, at least, these two great systems on to the Pacific Coast, thereby tremendously stimulating the progress of this whole arid region.⁴⁸

Surely one Indian reservation could not be allowed to slow down or stop such projected economic progress.

Perhaps a fitting postscript to this story in Indian-white relations concerns Chatterton's subsequent career. After pledging to work to "open" the reservation, the enterprising Chatterton was elected in 1898, re-elected in 1902, and in 1903 ascended to the governor's chair upon the death of his running mate, Richards. Finally, after leaving public office, Chatterton became the attorney for the Riverton-based Wyoming Central Irrigation Company, as well as its General Manager. Thus he benefitted from the city he had been so instrumental in carving from the Wind River Reservation.⁴⁹

From 1867 to 1906, Indian relations remained one of the major issues in Wyoming politics. Many politicians ensured success in their careers by merely denouncing the federal government's Indian policy. After the removal of the Sioux military threat in 1876-77, politicians found and exploited other Indian-related issues such as restricting Indian freedoms and reducing the size of the Wind River Indian land holdings. Wyoming politicians accurately reflected the prejudicial and stereotyped attitudes that evolved toward Native Americans during the frontier era. From the 1880s to the turn of the century, the once feared Native American was looked upon by Western whites as a mere nuisance, a bothersome relic from the past. Progressive era Wyoming saw the Indian as almost a sub-human, an absentee occupant of valuable land, who locked-up resources that could be more productively utilized for the benefit of American society. The fascinating challenge of this episode in Indian-white relations is to assess the ways in which frontier prejudice and negative stereotypes have carried over into the present century to influence Indian-white relations.

1. Wyoming, according to a 1981 study had 7,125 American Indians, or 1.5% of the state's total population. This is more than twice the national average for total percent Indian population. See *Casper Star-Tribune*, July 30, 1981.
2. Arrell M. Gibson, *The American Indian: Prehistory to the Present* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), pp. 517, 526. Gibson goes on to say that "The twentieth century brought Indians no respite from private and public exploitation and abuse. Greedy

non-Indians continued to prey upon allotments and tribal resources." p. 517.

3. John Leipier Freeman, "The New Deal for the Indians: A Study in Bureau-Committee Relations in American Government" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1952), pp. 8-10.
4. *Ibid.*
5. The "good-bad" Indian dichotomy is a convenient and useful method to discover political motivations. The good-bad dichotomy is analyzed in Robert Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian From Columbus to the Present* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1978), pp. 118-119.
6. For a study of Washakie in this laudatory vein, see Grace Raymond Hebard's uncritical *Washakie* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1930). A short but more balanced assessment is Peter M. Wright's "Washakie" in R. David Edmunds, ed., *American Indian Leaders: Studies in Diversity* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), pp. 131-151.
7. Berkhofer, *White Man's Indian*, pp. 118-119; examples of contemporary statements praising Washakie are legion. See, for example, the undated manuscript in "Washakie" file, John Roberts Papers, Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming.
8. Red Cloud's War along the Bozeman Trail is examined in many places, but the most balanced assessment remains James C. Olson's *Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965).
9. The more humane Indian policy that was in place after 1869, the so-called "Peace Policy," has recently been reexamined in an excellent study by Robert H. Keller, Jr., *American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983).
10. Robert W. Mardock, *The Reformers and the American Indian* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1971), pp. 23-25. The Fetterman Massacre occurred near Fort Phil Kearny, by present-day Buffalo, Wyoming.
11. Olson, *Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem*, pp. 58-60; T. A. Larson, *A History of Wyoming*, Second Edition, Revised (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), p. 29; Mardock, *The Reformers and the Indian*, p. 25.
12. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, October 10, 17, 1867.
13. *Ibid.*, November 14, 19, 1867.
14. *Ibid.*, December 5, 1867 and April 3, 1868.
15. *Ibid.*, March 30, 1868.
16. *Ibid.*, May 1, 1868; Olson, *Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem*, pp. 79-82.
17. *Leader*, May 13, 1868 and July 24, 1868; *Council Journal of the First Wyoming Territorial Legislature*, p. 139. The Wind River Reservation was established by this treaty.
18. Mary Ann Riedel, "The Image of Wyoming in the Rocky Mountain News, 1867-1880" (M.A. Thesis, University of Wyoming, 1967), pp. 10-14.
19. *Council Journal of the First Wyoming Territorial Legislature*, p. 93.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 125, 139-140.
21. "Message of Governor J. A. Campbell, October 13, 1869," in *Council Journal of the First Wyoming Legislature*, pp. 10, 17-18; Peter Kooi Simpson, "History of the First Wyoming Legislature" (M.A. Thesis, University of Wyoming, 1962), pp. 55-56.
22. E. S. Osgood, *The Day of the Cattleman* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1929), pp. 71-73; Keller, Jr., *American Protestantism and Indian Policy*, pp. 98-105; Larson, *History of Wyoming*, p. 97; "Message of Governor J. A. Campbell, November 4, 1873," in *Council Journal of Third Legislative Assembly of Wyoming*, pp. 15-18.
23. *Council Journal of the Third Wyoming Territorial Legislature*, p. 74.

Larson, *History of Wyoming*, p. 99; Donald Jackson, *Custer's Gold: The United States Cavalry Expedition of 1874* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966); *Leader*, September 26, 1874, in W.P.A. Collection, 1520, "Trails and Expeditions," Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department, Cheyenne. *Council Journal of the Fourth Territorial Legislature of Wyoming*, pp. 72, 112, 134; for a biographical sketch of Thayer see Lewis L. Gould, *Wyoming: A Political History, 1868-1896* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1868), pp. 50-57.

"Message of Governor John M. Thayer to the Fourth Legislative Assembly," in *Council Journal of the Fourth Wyoming Territorial Legislature*, pp. 39-42.

To recite the movements and countermovements of the famous Sioux War of 1876 is not the purpose of this study. Rather, see several of the better narratives on this campaign, Robert M. Utley, *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1973); Ralph K. Andrist, *The Long Death: The Last Days of the Plains Indians* (New York: Collier Books, 1964).

"Message of John M. Thayer, November 6, 1877," in *Council Journal of the Fifth Wyoming Territorial Legislature*, p. 21; Larson, *A History of Wyoming*, p. 95; R. E. Strahorn, *The Handbook of Wyoming and Guide to the Black Hills and Big Horn Regions* (Cheyenne, 1877), pp. 20-21, quoted in Osgood, *Day of the Cattleman*, p. 78.

For the story of the Arapahoe removal to the Wind River Reservation see Virginia Cole Trenholm, *The Arapahoes, Our People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), pp. 321-362; and Virginia Cole Trenholm and Maurine Carley, *The Shoshonis: Sentinels of the Rockies* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), pp. 275-284.

Loretta Fowler, *Arapahoe Politics, 1851-1978: Symbols in Crisis of Authority* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), p. 56. Montana rancher Granville Stuart quoted in Lewis Atherton, *The Cattle Kings* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1961), pp. 125-127.

Keplar Hoyt, *Life of John Wesley Hoyt, 1831-1912*, mss. in Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department, Cheyenne, pp. 309-317; "Report of Governor of Wyoming Territory, 1878," in *Wyoming Governor's Reports to the Secretary of the Interior, 1878-1890*, Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming; Atherton, *The Cattle Kings*, p. 126.

Fowler, *Arapahoe Politics*, passim.

Osgood, *Day of the Cattleman*, p. 63; see, for example, correspondence in the letterbooks of Governors William Hale, Francis E. Warren and Thomas Moonlight, in Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department, Cheyenne, which are filled with such "scares" and complaints about Indians.

"Report of the Governor of Wyoming Territory, 1886," in *Wyoming Governor's Reports to the Secretary of the Interior*, p. 57. F. E. Warren to G. E. Compton, April 1, 1885, F. E. Warren Papers, Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department, Cheyenne.

Laramie Daily Boomerang, February 4, 1886; "Report of the Governor of Wyoming in 1889," in *Wyoming Governor's Reports*

- to the Secretary of the Interior, 1878-90, p. 620; "Report of the Governor of Wyoming in 1883," in *Ibid.*
38. Frederick Hoxie, "Beyond Savagery: The Campaign to Assimilate the American Indians, 1880-1920" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Brandeis University, 1977), see Chapter Four: "Assimilation in Practice: Indian Lands," for a concise description of the Indian Allotment Act. Hoxie notes, as few scholars have, that the great demand for Western lands at this time was closely related to the tremendous increase in Western population: the population soared from 4,000,000 in 1870 to 7,000,000 in 1880 in the area. Also see D. S. Otis, *The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands*, edited with an introduction by Francis Paul Prucha (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973); Robert Winston Mardock, *The Reformers and the American Indian* (Columbia, University of Missouri Press, 1971); Leonard A. Carlson, "Land Allotment and the Decline of American Indian Farming," *Explorations in Economic History*, 18(April 1981), argues that the Dawes Act made it easy and desirable for Indians to alienate land holdings, that it discouraged rather than promoted agriculture.
 39. *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, January 14, 20, 1886.
 40. *Ibid.*, February 19, 1886.
 41. Larry J. Hasse, "Termination and Assimilation: Federal Indian Policy 1943 to 1961" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Washington State University, 1974), pp. 12-13.
 42. *Riverton Ranger*, August 14, 1981; State Planning Board of Wyoming, *Indian Lands in Wyoming* (1936), Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department, Cheyenne, pp. 12-13; Trenholm and Carley, *The Shoshonis*, pp. 285-292.
 43. Thomas Hoevet Johnson, "The Enos Family and Wind River Shoshone Society: A Historical Analysis" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Illinois, 1975), p. 158; Fenimore Chatterton, *Yesterday's Wyoming: Memoirs of Fenimore Chatterton, Territorial Citizen, Governor, and Statesman* (Aurora, Colorado: Powder River Publishers, 1957), pp. 60-61.
 44. Fenimore Chatterton, "History of the Inception of Riverton and the Riverton Project in Fremont County, Wyoming," *Annals of Wyoming*, 25(January 1953), pp. 83-85.
 45. Johnson, "The Enos Family," p. 139.
 46. *Ibid.*, pp. 159-60. Johnson points out that 202 of 247 eligible Shoshone voters signed the agreement while only 80 of 231 Arapahoes could be induced to sign. Johnson calculates that only 58.2% of the total adult male Wind River Indian population agreed to the land cession.
 47. *Ibid.*, p. 160. The Shoshonis parted with 700,000 acres in the Brunot Treaty or Agreement of 1872. See land cession figures for Wind River Reservation in Wyoming State Planning Board, *Indian Lands in Wyoming*, p. 20.
 48. W.P.A. Collection, 1453, Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department, Cheyenne; Bryant B. Brooks to Albert E. Meade, February 8, 1905, Bryant B. Brooks Papers, Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department, Cheyenne. For short biographical sketches of Brooks and Chatterton see Harry B. Henderson, Sr., "Governors of the State of Wyoming, Article III," *Annals of Wyoming*, 12(April 1940), pp. 123-130.
 49. Henderson, "Governors of the State of Wyoming," pp. 124-125.



ALL THE PHOTOS IN THIS ARTICLE ARE FROM THE AUTHOR'S PERSONAL COLLECTION.

LIFE IN A YELLOWSTONE CCC CAMP

by Leo Kimmett

The 73rd Congress was called into special session on March 9, 1933, to hear and authorize one of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's favorite economic recovery programs, the Emergency Work Act, soon to become known as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). Senate Bill S-598 was introduced on March 27, passed by both Houses and on the President's desk for signature by March 31.

By emergency powers granted to the President, there were 250,000 young men enrolled in CCC camps by July, 1933. Control and transportation of the men was turned over to the Army in spite of fears that militarism would creep into the program; the Departments of Agriculture and Interior would plan and organize the work programs; and the Labor Department would be responsible for selection and enrollment of applicants. Oddly enough, primarily through the efforts of a civilian director and advisory council to prohibit the newborn program from being smothered with red tape, the CCC was on a firm foundation of success by April, 1934.

Sometime in the latter part of April or the first part of May a notice was printed in our local paper, *The Powell Tribune*, that teamsters were needed in the two CCC camps at Yellowstone Park. I was a senior in high school at that time, joyfully anticipating the graduation exercises that were to occur in a few weeks. This notice in the paper effectively encouraged several of us boys, being single, carefree and looking for adventure and employment, to take advantage of this offer. Work for us in the farming community of Powell, when it was found, usually consisted of a ten-hour day in the fields with a \$1.00 reward for our labor. So, about four of us seniors pooled our resources for gasoline, borrowed somebody's car, obtained permission from our superintendent to absent ourselves from school for a day, then drove 26 miles to Cody, Wyoming. There, at a Forestry Office, we applied for employment as teamsters in a CCC camp. I had no qualms about my qualifications as a teamster. Having been born and raised on a farm north of Powell, I often used teams of horses for field work and trucks for hauling supplies and produce.

In about ten days we received notice to report for induction in CCC Camp 581, YNP-2, located at Canyon Junction in Yellowstone Park. Two of us, as seniors in high school, had to forego our graduation ceremonies and bestowed the diploma reception honor on our mothers. Early on the morning of May 16, Raymond Cles, Frank Revelle, two boys temporarily living in Powell and I were loaded into a city pickup and transported to Lake Junction in Yellowstone. We arrived there about noon. A phone call was made to Canyon Junction and after a long wait, a stake truck was sent down from the CCC camp for the completion of our journey. Two other boys, Mildred Patterson and Ray Thornberry from the Willwood area of Powell were also at this camp, having preceded us by a few days. Arriving at the camp about 2 p.m., we were first treated to lunch in the mess hall. We had been very

hungry. Lt. Slater, our Commanding Officer, met us in front of the little office where we raised our right hand and were sworn into the CCC with the Oath of Enrollment:

I, _____, do solemnly swear that the information given above as to my status is correct. I agree to remain in the Civilian Conservation Corps for the period terminating at the discretion of the United States between _____ unless sooner released by proper authority, and that I will obey those in authority and observe all the rules and regulations promulgated pursuant thereof. I understand and agree that any injury received or disease contracted by me while a member of the Civilian Conservation Corps cannot be made the basis of any claim against the government except such as I may be entitled to under the act of September 7, 1916, and that I shall not be entitled to any allowance upon release from the camp, except transportation in kind to the place at which I was accepted for enrollment. I understand further that any articles issued to me by the United States Government for use while a member of the Civilian Conservation Corps are and remain property of the United States Government and that willful destruction, loss, sale or disposal of such property renders me financially responsible for the cost thereof and liable to trial in a civil court. I understand further that any infraction of the rules or regulations of the Civilian Conservation Corps renders me liable to expulsion therefrom. So help me God.

Our next stop was at the Quartermaster tent where we were issued clothing. This clothing was straight army issue, from caps to shoes and a large portion was WWI surplus. We were also given a small pillow, a wool blanket, mattress ticking (which we filled with straw for our bunk) and a duffel bag for personal belongings. The newly issued clothing and toiletries was to be kept under our bunk, in a rectangular wooden frame supported by four short legs.

Most of the structures in our camp were army tents. Five or six boys were quartered in each troop tent, a simple layout consisting of a wooden platform, about fifteen feet square, with a board railing around the sides. Over this framework a pyramidal tent was placed supported by a center pole. A few of the tents had small wood-burning stoves, a comfort during the snowy and chilly weather that frequented the park.

Approaching Canyon Junction from the south, one would travel near the west bank of the Yellowstone River, pass Chittenden Bridge on the right, and in another mile arrive at a road junction where a turn to the west or east would lead to other scenic park areas. It was at the southwest corner of this junction, on a small bluff and in a former tourist camp location, that our CCC camp was established. Looking down from this small, flat bluff, one saw a most striking panoramic view of the beautiful Canyon area. To the northeast, was the stately, massive Canyon Hotel, proudly perched on its own observation hill. Directly below and across the road from our camp was the Canyon store and service station, with a well worn path leading to our camp.

Rest facilities, a few electric yard lights and a water main were already in the tourist campground area when



Administration boys, cooks, clerks, first aid technician. Author in rear, far right.

the CCC camp was established. Our mess hall was a long, frame building, about 20 x 100 feet, with a kitchen and food storage room located in the north section. There was a small office in the south section, and a large dining room between. Our log rest rooms, the showers, laundry building and the mess hall were the only wooden buildings in the camp. Everything else was under tents. The officers and supervisors lived in small individual tents on a little rise just above the new office building. These locations are mentioned because there are different roads through the Canyon area today and it would be difficult to locate the old CCC camp with its sylvan surroundings.

Located in the center of our camp was the recreation tent. The major area of this tent contained tables and chairs used for letter writing, card games, meetings and other leisure-time activities. There was also a very small PX in the recreation tent. It was just one glass showcase, as I remember, containing candy bars, tobacco, gum, toiletries and stationery. Since most of the boys were penniless when enrolled, we were issued a \$2.00 coupon book so we could purchase soap, toothbrushes and other items. The \$2.00 was deducted from our first pay. Religious services were also held in the recreation tent, and on occasions a minister or priest would visit the camp.

On the morning following our arrival at camp, we reported to the medical tent, called the dispensary. Thoroughly indoctrinated the previous night from the old-timers about the large, curved needle and where it was to be jabbed, we fearfully received our typhoid, diphtheria and smallpox immunization. We also became acquainted with the camp doctor, 1st Lt. Westerhout. He was a good doctor except that gentleness was not one of his known attributes. This reputation, no doubt, eliminated all cases of goldbricking in our camp. Generally, all the boys were in, and remained in, good physical condition. There was one unique medical case sometime in July, when a boy was diagnosed as having appendicitis. He was taken in our

ambulance by Dr. Westerhout to the Park Hospital at Mammoth Hot Springs for an appendectomy. Within a few weeks the patient was back in camp and on active duty.

There were about six work crews in our camp whose assignments varied from road and bridge work to forestry work. Each crew consisted of 25-30 boys with one civilian Forest Department supervisor and a truck driver. There was also a stake truck for transporting the crew to and from the respective work locations. A tarp was frequently placed over wooden bows on the stake trucks in case of inclement weather.

Although all of us from Powell had enrolled as teamsters, at no time did any of us drive a team of horses. They were nonexistent in Yellowstone. Nor did we drive a truck. The position of truck driver was highly respected and sought after, since the sole responsibility of the driver was to care for his assigned truck and to safely transport its cargo. Drivers never assisted in the work that was assigned to the crew.

An astonishing practice of these truck drivers that was previously unknown to me, and something I considered absurd since we never practiced it in our farm work, was the "double-clutching" procedure when shifting either to a lower or higher gear. I never did know if this was a specified procedure or just an act of showmanship on the part of the mechanically inclined drivers.

It was the responsibility of one work crew to supply our camp with firewood. On each workday this crew searched the forest for dead pine, sawed these trees into four-foot lengths and neatly stacked the cord wood behind the mess hall.

Our mess hall was one building we frequented three times a day and, although not always tasty, the food was adequate and nutritious. Three large, cast iron ranges sufficed for the cooking and baking in the kitchen. The four-foot sections of firewood were regularly tossed into the fire-box of these monstrous stoves by the mess hall attendants,

thus providing a good steady heat for our cooks and bakers.

Food provisions and all other camp supplies arrived on a monthly schedule via the old army convoy supply system from Fort Missoula, Montana, our headquarters center. About ten noisy, canvas-covered trucks would come roaring into camp on the scheduled afternoon and our supplies for the next month would be unloaded, a project that could have been frustrating but in reality was rather orderly. Early the following morning at daybreak, a good hour before reveille call, the drivers of the convoy trucks were up, starting their engines, and running these engines at full throttle for about 15 minutes. This warm-up procedure may have been specified in some regulation, since the entire operation was conducted by the Quartermaster Department of the Army. For us, these roaring engines were a rude awakening, depriving us of that extra hour's sleep in our normally quiet camp.

One of the pleasantries after the arrival of the convoy was the increased variety, for a few days, in our mess hall diet. Fresh meat (beef quarters) was brought in and it lasted only about a week since we had no refrigeration lockers, just the cool Yellowstone nights. After the fresh meat was gone, our cooks reverted to the old Army standby, canned beef. It was present at our dining tables as steak, meat loaf, cold cuts or stew.

I don't recall that we ever had fresh milk, only the diluted evaporated milk for cooking and table use. Other than potatoes, onions and cabbage, fresh fruits and vegetables were nonexistent in our menu.

As with any group of youngsters, one will find a certain percentage complaining about the meals, but I never joined in this disapproval. Our meals were wholesome, if not balanced, and there definitely was no malnutrition or hunger as many were experiencing during those Depression years. We had devoted and dependable enrollees as cooks and bakers in our kitchen, producing admirable meals from what they had to work with.

On one occasion in the middle of July, our chief forestry supervisor was pleased with the work accomplishments of the boys, and decided to treat the camp. On a Sunday morning he came into the office and made several phone calls until he located what he wanted at the Lake Junction Hotel. He then dispatched a truck and personally took care of the arrangements and expenses in providing our camp with twenty gallons of vanilla ice cream as a dessert for the evening meal.

Another very important use of our mess hall occurred on the first day of every month — payday. An army olive drab blanket was draped over one of the mess tables. Behind it sat the commanding officer, the executive officer and a paymaster who had previously arrived in camp with a satchel filled with \$1.00 and \$5.00 bills. The boys were lined up in alphabetical order in front of this table and in turn received their next month's allowance of a few dollars. Pay was always in even dollars; any portion of a

dollar was carried over to the next pay period. Laying on the blanket in front of the C.O. was a .45 army pistol, which I am certain was unloaded but placed there as a shocking reminder that this was neither the time nor the place for any nonsense.

Connected with the subject of pay, it should be remembered that our wages were "a-dollar-a-day"; \$30 a month in actuality. We were allowed \$6 per month at payday for our personal spending and the remaining \$24 was sent by Treasury check to the respective families of the enrollees. Six dollars a month seems, by today's standards, to have been a pittance, but it was adequate for our few expenses and limited luxuries, such as tobacco or candy. The distribution of the \$30 per month among the boys and their usually impoverished families, along with the work accomplishments, was viewed favorably by the public, thus allowing the continuance of the CCC program for several years.

Most of the CCC camps were located in isolated areas, away from the money spending temptations of town or city. Prohibition was still in effect at that time and this fortunate situation eliminated any expenditures for alcoholic beverages. One sobering sight was impressed upon me after the June payday, when six or eight boys wanted to spend a weekend in the small town of Gardiner, Montana. Returning to camp early Monday morning, about three or four of the boys were rolling in their vomit on the floor of the stake truck. These unfortunates learned the hard way about the prevalent falsehood that rubbing alcohol became harmless when filtered through a slice of bread.

There was a complement of about 200 boys in our camp. Approximately ten percent of these were in the administrative force of cooks, supply clerks, office personnel, first aid technicians and the bugler. As I remember, reveille was at 6 a.m., breakfast at 7 a.m. and at 8 a.m. we assembled in a military formation for the "all present and accounted for" ceremony along with the hoisting of the colors. After dismissal, the work crews and individuals reported to their diverse assignments. Dinner was at noon, and work resumed at 1 p.m. Supper was at 5 p.m. and after that we were free until taps (lights out) at 10 p.m. Saturdays were usually spent in camp, a day reserved for cleaning the camp area, doing our laundry and maintenance of our equipment. Sundays were totally days of leisure and, infrequently, a minister (Catholic or Protestant) would conduct services in the recreation tent. There were a variety of activities for us in the park; sports, fishing, taking hikes through the Canyon area and an occasional drive through the park in one of the stake trucks. Observing the park wildlife was always a fascination for us at these leisure times. We saw elk, moose, bear, badgers, coyotes and several species of birds. Especially memorable were the osprey as they would dive to the river surface and often fly away with a struggling trout firmly clenched in their talons.

My first work assignment was with a crew that cleaned the roadside of brush, dead trees and debris, from the highway leading to Norris Junction. Upon completion of this project, we were given the task of locating a large, long, lodge-pole pine to be used as a flagpole for our camp. After locating the ideal pole, cutting it down and stripping the bark, we then had to do some careful maneuvering to get this pole back to camp and erect it near the camp entrance.

CCC camp 581 was originally established the previous year in California and transferred later to Yellowstone Park in April or early May, 1934. Many of the original enrollees were finishing a year of service and were awaiting their discharge and return to civilian life. One such boy was the camp clerk in the small office at the south end of our mess hall. About a week after my arrival in camp, I went into the office one evening and, with no other intention in mind, asked permission to address an envelope on the office typewriter. I previously had taken a typing course in high school and the clerk noticed this fact when I addressed the envelope in the proper manner. I thanked the clerk and nothing more was said. A few days later the clerk came to me and stated that I was the only known boy in camp who could type. I could be his replacement as camp clerk if I wanted the job. He didn't have to ask me twice. No arm-twisting was needed for my acceptance of this position because it meant inside work and a \$6 per month increase in salary.

My typing consisted of filling out requisitions, making up the payroll and traveling documents, but it was not a pressing job. An additional duty was to hold mail-call each day after all the boys had returned to camp. Standing on a small platform near the mess hall, reading off names, and tossing the letter in the direction of the responsive "here" would normally be an artless routine, but not in our camp. By pure accident it happened that a great number of our boys were from the larger cities in Ohio and of Polish descent. Where I would normally expect a vowel in a surname, I was challenged with a C, K, W or Z, and some of those Polish names were real tongue-twisters for me. After a few days of mild resentment and some boos, I became more fluent in Polish pronunciation and we all returned to more cordial feelings.

Two of the other boys from Powell, Raymond Cles and Frank Revelle, also had some specialized work at our camp. Raymond, having had shop courses in high school, worked in the maintenance tent located behind the mess hall. His job was the care and repair of the innumerable camp tools — sharpening saws and axes, replacing broken handles and even some blacksmith work. Frank, when needed, was our camp plumber, acquiring this qualification by helping his father with their plumbing business in Powell. One of the appreciated accomplishments of Frank was his installation of a much needed wood-burning water heater for our shower and laundry use. Frank, a lad over six feet tall and weighing a good 200 pounds,

was unable to obtain a pair of issue shoes when we enrolled because there were no size 13 on hand, so a special order was submitted to the supply center for his size. It was about a month before Frank's shoes arrived and, in the intervening time of cold and snowy weather, it was a miserable necessity for poor Frank to reactivate his old, worn-out shoes with ample inserts of paper and cardboard.

Our office at the end of the mess hall was cramped for space. About the middle of June a new frame, one-room building, approximately 10 by 14 feet, was constructed north of the mess hall as the new office building. A 220 volt generator at the Canyon Hotel supplied yard lights for our camp and other tourist camps in the area. But, as I remember, very little electric power was used in our camp, and lanterns were the main source of illumination. A telephone connection also came from the Canyon Hotel, and the electric lines were wired into the new office, making it rather updated. Still the telephone was the old wall type and two light sockets were wired in series to care for the 220 volt current.

Most of the army officers and forestry supervisors, senior in age ten to twenty years over the enrollees, were married men and lived quietly in their own tent area. I can readily understand now that our officials, being separated from their families, had a minimal enjoyment of the Park, since they could not share this vacation land with their loved ones. There was very little boisterous talk generated in our office as the commanding officer was noticeably quiet and reserved. However, a trace of humor was frequently detected in his dialogue. I vividly recall one pithy elucidation from Lt. Slater at one of our morning roll calls. It was a time when our camp had a critical shortage of that rolled paper product essential to the rest rooms. "Be sparing with the use of our short supply of toilet paper," he strongly admonished us, "and use both sides of it — if you have to!"

A special discharge from the CCC could be obtained by any of the boys, or one could be obtained from the C.O. for a valid reason. If a parent of a boy sent a notarized affidavit stating that their son had employment at home, or was needed at home for a just reason, the enrollee was given a discharge and provided transportation back to his home, usually from the railroad at Gardiner, Montana. This happened about twice a month. We had two cases when our C.O. issued a discharge on his own discretion. One of the boys, possibly from lack of normal muscular control, was constantly, unintentionally injuring himself. Dr. Westerhout, after treating this boy numerous times for cut fingers, bruises, and so on, recommended to the C.O. that the boy be given a discharge before he seriously injured himself. Another case concerned one of the boys who took absolutely no interest or participation in any camp work or recreation activities. He was assigned to different supervisors and they all reported the same apathetic findings. It is my opinion, in retrospect, that the boy was severely homesick or

depressed. Our C.O., probably having the same opinion at that time, thought it best that the boy be discharged and returned to his parents.

With long, daylight evenings, our camp life continued with varied activities. Many of the boys, after a day's work, would simply stay in their tents, visit or play cards. Some would practice baseball, and we did have a winning team. Other boys participated in horseshoe pitching or boxing. Another pleasant evening diversion was to dress up in our best olive drab uniforms and take a two-mile walk via Chittenden Bridge over to the Canyon Lodge, where there was always an evening of entertainment presented by the lodge employees or by the Forest Rangers. Afterwards, a dance was usually held for an hour or two, with music furnished by the lodge orchestra.

Our baseball team always accepted the opportunity to play against other organized teams. One Saturday afternoon, we were challenged by a small but determined team made up from the employees of the Canyon Lodge. It was a softball match and with some good field effort we obtained a victory. Because of unforeseen circumstances, our weakest player that afternoon happened to be our pitcher, a red-headed lad, bashful as could be. One of the girls in the Canyon Lodge rooting section soon had our scarlet-topped pitcher sized up:

"Hey Red! What's your name?" "Hey Red! I like you!" "Hey Red! You're not playing fair!" "Can I see you after the game, Red?"

Our red-faced pitcher became more flushed and less dexterous as the innings progressed and, needless to say, our winning of that game didn't come from strike-outs.

There was a four-day holiday for us right after payday on July 1. Permission was granted for the use of a stake truck to transport any of us wanting a ride as far as Cody, Wyoming. Since Powell was just 26 miles on the other side of Cody, this gave some of the other boys from Powell and me an opportunity to return home for a short visit by simply hitch-hiking after arriving at Cody. I had invited one of the Polish boys from Ohio to accompany me on this trip. We certainly enjoyed our visit in Powell and at our farm, where the city lad from Ohio witnessed a new world.

While at home I visited a neighbor friend, Ora Palmer, and made arrangements for him to construct a small, battery-powered radio for us, since there was no such luxury in our camp at that time. Ora was a gifted individual, who had a fondness for disassembling old radios and rebuilding them into homemade working models. A few days after returning to camp, I received from Ora, via parcel post, a one-tube radio assembled in a cigar box. We soon had that portentous electronic marvel operating. One of the boys in camp had a set of headphones and we, unbelievably, found and bought the needed batteries at the Canyon store. After the correct hook-up of wires, we could clearly tune-in broadcasting stations located in Billings and Denver. What a thrill it was to take turns



One of the work crews in the Yellowstone CCC camp.

PHOTOS FROM LEO KIMMETT'S CCC ALBUM — SUMMER, 1934



*Supply tents,
and Administration quarters.*



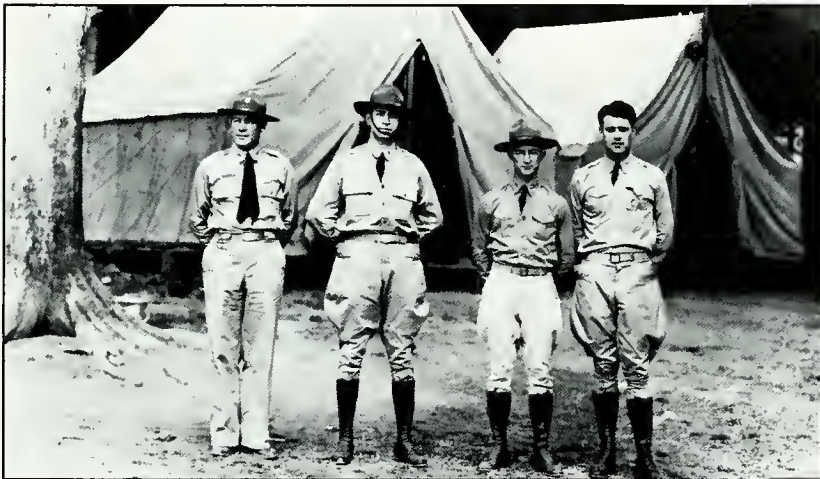
*Kimmett in front of the Mess Hall,
May 1934.*



View from the camp, General .



*Tent area, Yellowstone CCC Camp.
Weather improved.*



*Officers of the Camp.
From the left, 1st Lt. Slater,
Lt. Westerhout, other two
unidentified.*



*Official photo
of the assembled
Camp's personnel,
July, 1934.*

clamping the headphones over our ears and hearing the airway entertainment far from Yellowstone National Park. The boy who owned the headphones was completely obsessed with this unique electronic jewel, so I traded it off to him when I was soon to be on another assignment.

It was necessary for me to spend extra hours during the evening in the new office should there be any phone calls. The fidelity of our antique wall telephone was, at best, very poor. A call came in one evening, the caller wanting to speak to one of the lieutenants. After repeating and verifying the name for correctness, I then walked up the small hill to the officer's tent area and called the lieutenant to the phone. To make a long story short, it turned out that one of the other lieutenants was wanted on the phone. For this botched communication I was given a royal, typical army verbal reprimand. This hurt. Coming from the gentle farming community of Powell where such vituperation was unknown, the shock of this reprimand, unjustified in all respects, had an acute effect on me.

After a somewhat sleepless night, I decided that to be mentally upset like this was not worth the extra \$6 a month so, the next morning, I requested the C.O. that I be placed back on one of the work crews. Also, an enrollee had recently arrived in camp who was a whiz with the typewriter and I felt that he, being more qualified, was entitled to have the clerical job in the office.

Another reason for my desiring a change was the formation of a sub-camp, to consist of some twenty boys and a supervisor. I volunteered to join this group and the days in that sub-camp proved to be my most memorable in the park.

The Forestry Department wanted a fire trail constructed into an isolated area in the Park, near Mary Lake. Our group was loaded onto three stake trucks, along with camping equipment, supplies, tools and food. We left our main camp at Canyon, drove south on the highway about seven miles, then turned to the right onto a rough wagon road for some ten miles until reaching Mary Lake. Our small camping tents were erected on the northwest shore of this small, pristine lake situated in equally beautiful forest surroundings.

There was, as I recall, a small tent for the supervisor, about three crew tents under which we placed our bunks, a supply tent and a mess tent containing a few tables and some benches. All of this was about 100 feet from the shore of the lake.

While loading all of our equipment back at Canyon, I was late (something unusual for me) in getting my wooden bunk loaded on the truck. In fact, I was the last to do so. After the trucks drove over that ten-miles of wagon road, all the bunks underneath mine were broken into various sizes of scrap lumber, so I didn't have to rebuild my sleeping facility after arriving at Mary Lake.

Another essential project that first day was the digging of a trench, which was spanned by two longitudinal poles that supported, at right angles, short and appro-

priately spaced boards nailed onto the poles. A shovel full of dirt, scooped from the latrine bank into the bottom of the trench, completed each operation. Oh, the marvels of being uncivilized before the days of the Environmental Protection Agency. Water for all our needs was carried up from the shore of the lake, and from that same shore we also went swimming and bathing. Sickness? There was none in our sub-camp.

The Forestry Department furnished our camp with a battery powered, short wave transmitter and receiver should any emergency occur. One boy assigned to this radio had to periodically call in to a central location three or four times a day. This location, I believe, was at Lake Junction. The cook, his helper and the radio operator were the only three to remain in camp during the work days. Our supplies and mail were trucked in from Canyon once a week. On one occasion a quarter of fresh beef, wrapped in a white cloth, was brought to us and we suspended this delicacy from a tree branch. We didn't care to share with any bear.

The fire trail we built, began on the east shore of Mary Lake and continued to the south, and was simply an undulating graded pathway that we opened and threaded through the forest, dead timber, brush, hills and valleys. It was all muscle work, with the aid of picks, shovels, saws and axes. There were considerable good-natured and boisterous complaints as to who was doing the most or the least amount of work. We labored under a wonderful supervisor and the trail gradually unwound, for several miles, to its destination.

At the beginning of the trail construction, we would walk back to camp for our noon meal. On one occasion, when returning to our work location after lunch, we unexpectedly came upon a smoldering fire about 25 feet in diameter. Needless to say, we were a busy crew stomping out that embarrassing conflagration since it could easily have spread into a major forest fire in that dry, August climate. It was concluded that one of the boys had carelessly tossed a cigarette butt aside when we were returning to camp that noon. Our supervisor wisely decided that all future smoking along the trail would be restricted to specified times and places. After the trail extended over a mile in length, the time consuming routine of returning to camp at noon was dropped and thereafter lunch was carried when leaving in the morning.

On our off days some of us would explore the environs of Mary Lake. To the east were several acres of hot, bubbling springs, oddities of nature that fascinated us. One day I tossed a bar of laundry soap into one of these boiling pots, having heard of the profound lathering that would ensue. Breathlessly I stepped back to await a frothing that would never cease. Nothing happened.

On another occasion about seven of us boys, out of curiosity, took an afternoon hike into a densely forested and hilly wilderness area. Eventually, deciding we had had enough exploring for that afternoon, we suddenly realized

we were lost. In a situation such as this, I was fortunate in having an instinctive sense of direction, and was certain that our camp was to the northeast from where we were. Most of the boys disagreed with me and insisted upon walking in a westerly direction. Even after a heated argument, I was so positive in my opinion that I told them, "you go your way and I'll go mine," and proceeded to do so. One of the boys started to follow me, and soon afterwards the remainder of the group were behind my trailblazing path. After about a mile trek through brush, wooded area and rocks, we were back in recognizable territory and soon returned to our camp.

While exploring the terrain in the vicinity of Mary Lake, I noticed traces of what appeared to be an old road or trail coming from the west into Mary Lake. Years later, when reading the early history of Yellowstone Park, it was a surprise to me that this was the old stage road used by early tourists in the park. The early road system guided the travelers, all coming from Montana at that time, from Mammoth Springs to the Old Faithful area. The early-day tourist then backtracked as far as Nez Perce Creek, followed this creek to Mary Lake where, no doubt, a pleasant camping and rest stop was made. From Mary Lake, the stage road continued approximately on the same trail we had taken when coming to Mary Lake. This was designated as the Alum Creek Road, leading eventually to the Canyon area. The drainage tributary for Mary Lake is Nez Perce Creek, a name associated with the defeat of that Indian tribe in 1877. Chief Joseph led his nation of



Tent area in subcamp at Mary Lake.

Nez Perce through a route provided by the wilderness terrain of this creek and in doing so "out-generalled" three confused U.S. Cavalry troops pursuing his escape into Montana. In a life-and-death evasion from the laws of the white man, it is reasonable to assume that the environs of Mary Lake were of a utilitarian nature rather than one of peace and beauty for the pursued Indians.

During the latter part of August, my oldest brother wrote and suggested that, if possible, I should strongly consider attending a university that fall. After weighing the pros and cons of what this involved, I wrote back that I would accept his suggestion. He would have to send an affidavit to the effect that my attending a school was the reason for a needed discharge. In a few days, about the same time we completed the construction of the fire trail, the affidavit arrived. On September 3, 1934, I obtained my discharge from the Civilian Conservation Corps and was soon back home making preparations for some higher education.

During the continuance of the CCC for the next eight years, several changes were made. Ill fitting olive drab clothing was replaced by the more attractive cotton, khaki clothing. Better meals were provided with the inclusion of fresh produce and an educational advisor was assigned to each camp for the implementation of various training programs; and finally, barracks replaced the old army tents. With our sudden entrance into World War II in 1941, expenditures and manpower were needed for the war effort. Congress simply let the CCC program expire by canceling appropriations for its continuance. By July, 1942, the Civilian Conservation Corps was filed in the pages of history.



Kimmett in front of the flagpole he helped erect.



PAMPHLET COVER COURTESY OF AUTHOR

The University of Wyoming Textbook Investigation Controversy, 1947 to 1948 and Its Aftermath

by William Hewitt

Americans worried about many things after World War II, and communism probably headed the list. The uproar over communism in Wyoming swirled on the University of Wyoming campus in late 1947 and early 1948, and for a brief time, made the University the focus of national anti-communist agitation.¹ The hunt for communist or subversive influence in American higher education reached its apogee in the 1952 to 1953 hearings of the Internal Security Subcommittee in New York City and the House Un-American Activities Committee's scrutiny of Harvard and Massachusetts Institute of Technology scientists.²

The furor in Wyoming began with a seemingly harmless motion before the Board of Trustees during its October 24-25 meeting in 1947. A Cheyenne dentist and treasurer of the board, Dr. P. M. Cunningham, proposed that U.W. President George Duke Humphrey "appoint a committee to read and examine textbooks in use at the University of Wyoming, in the field of social sciences, to determine if such books are subversive or un-American."³ This motion was seconded by board member H. D. DelMonte, of Lander, and carried unanimously, without discussion.

DelMonte and Milward Simpson, President of the Board of Trustees, had just returned from a meeting of the Governing Boards of State Universities and Allied Institutions held at the University of Michigan. A speaker at the meetings warned of the threat posed by communist ideology to the American way of life. This threat was all the more insidious because it was through the medium of textbooks that "subversive" and "un-American" ideas seeped into the minds of unsuspecting, unguarded youth. Simpson later recalled that the speaker warned that some college textbooks if not explicitly subversive in their content, "at least did not teach our own principles and ideas of government."⁴ After hearing this presentation, the governing boards passed a recommendation that American government and history courses be required of all university graduates.⁵

Simpson returned from Michigan determined in his capacity as President of the Board to counteract any subversive or un-American influence if it should be detected at U.W. Simpson had displayed energetic interest in university affairs as early as World War I when he was seeking his undergraduate education at U.W.⁶ He not only

This attention-getting cover appeared on a pamphlet sent to University of Wyoming President George Duke Humphrey and the Board of Trustees by Robert Donner of Colorado Springs on December 31, 1947. It stated, in part, "He [the undercover Red] can use his fine-pointed needle to insert the Red poison so cleverly that you can hardly follow his motions."

worked his way through the university holding such jobs as an instructorship in political science, but he also captained the football, baseball and basketball teams and found time to be a debater and editor, as well. After interrupting his education for a stint, and serving as a second lieutenant in the infantry in World War I, he returned to Wyoming to receive his B.S. degree in 1921. He went on to study law at Harvard and was admitted to the Wyoming bar in 1926. Simpson's ambition found expression in his political career. As an ardent Republican, he served in the House of Representatives from 1926 to 1927. With this experience behind him, in addition to a successful law practice and the vice-presidency of Husky Oil and Refining Company, he entered the U.S. Senate race in 1940 against New Deal Democrat, Joseph C. O'Mahoney. O'Mahoney, then soundly defeated Simpson by almost 20,000 votes.⁷

During his 1940 effort to unseat O'Mahoney, Simpson focused his campaign around his antipathy for the New Deal and his long-standing concern, dating from the Red Scare of post-World War I, about the possible spread of communism.⁸ During the 1940 campaign, he reported that Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes had criticized his advertising slogan which read: "More Wyoming in Washington and less Washington in Wyoming." Simpson suggested that Ickes' attitude was "typical of the bureaucrats in Washington who wished to continue American [sic] on down the road to national socialism."⁹ In a campaign speech at Guernsey, Wyoming, Simpson portrayed Nazism and Communism as equally abhorrent and menacing while affirming that, "there is no place for them or for their foreign teachings in America."¹⁰

Revelations in Washington, D.C., provided Simpson with substantiation for his campaign rhetoric. Texas Senator Martin Dies had launched committee hearings on May 26, 1938, aimed at investigating subversive organizations. Dies cautioned in the committee's final report on January 3, 1940, that a "fifth column movement might be at work to subvert American democracy."¹¹ Simpson cited Dies' findings when he told a meeting of Cheyenne labor leaders, "that vital offices of the national government are packed with communists and other fifth columnists." Furthermore, Simpson reported that the Dies Committee had "shown that there are more than 700 people in the employ of the government who are out-and-out Communists. . . [in addition to] at least 300,000 dangerous fifth columnists. . . ."¹²

After his defeat in 1940, Simpson threw his energies into his new position on the Board of Trustees of the University. In 1943 his colleagues elected him President.¹³ Simpson "marked a change in [the] trustees' attitude," according to Ralph McWhinnie, University of Wyoming Registrar at the time: "Milward went out and began to ask questions . . . but when he came back here [to the campus] he was looking for a place to find out what was going on. He used to come to my office . . . and he fre-

quently was on the telephone — 'What about this? What about that?' ”¹⁴

Simpson's spirited board leadership put him in a position to exert considerable influence over the university's new President, George Duke Humphrey,¹⁵ who assumed the post in 1945 after extensive experience in Mississippi's educational system. Humphrey received his undergraduate education from State Teachers College, later renamed the University of Southern Mississippi, and at Blue Mountain College from which he received his B.A. degree in 1929. He went on to earn his M.A. degree from the University of Chicago in 1931 and his Ph.D. degree from Ohio State University in 1939. At the same time he worked as public school principal and then superintendent in the Mississippi public school system. In addition, he held the presidency of Mississippi State College at Jackson from 1934 until 1945.¹⁶

Humphrey followed Simpson's and the board's direction for a textbook investigation¹⁷ and on November 12 announced the selection of a seven-man review committee under the chairmanship of Dean R. R. Hamilton of the law school.¹⁸ Hamilton requested on November 25 that department heads submit a list of textbooks required of students in their department's classes.¹⁹

Meanwhile, faculty reacted to the board's resolution. On November 19, the Wyoming chapter of the American Association of University Professors, headed by Ruth Campbell and urged by Fred Nussbaum,²⁰ adopted by a vote of twenty-two to three a resolution which expressed concern for the integrity of the profession and the welfare of the university, and asked the trustees to reconsider their action.²¹ The faculty, sparked by the AAUP, voted (123:24) at its regular meeting on December 9, to request a hearing before the Board in order to express their opposition to the investigation. The faculty elected a committee of

fifteen,²² to be chaired by T. A. Larson,²³ head of the History Department, and charged this group with stating the faculty's position.

Larson²⁴ urged a hearing for the committee of fifteen in letters to Humphrey and Simpson.²⁵ In anticipation of such a hearing, the committee of fifteen met on December 18 and subdivided into five committees to prepare reports on academic freedom, the undesirability of the examination of textbooks, the future effects of a textbook probe and course of action for the committee, the danger posed to the university by such a probe, and the rights and responsibilities of the faculty. The primary objective of the committee of fifteen was to get the board to rescind its action although it recognized, "the difficulty of presenting its case firmly without offending the board and making it impossible for the board to save face in a reversal or notification of its action."²⁶ Failing this objective, the committee of fifteen hoped the board would clarify the terms "subversive" and "un-American." Moreover, and second only to the board's ending the investigation, the committee hoped to compel the board to accept a statement affirming the principles of academic freedom as policy for the University of Wyoming.

However, inflammatory press statements by both sides complicated negotiations. The first public reaction to the textbook investigation was an October 27 editorial by Ernie Linford in the *Laramie Republican-Boomerang*, ironically one of several newspapers owned by U.W. board Vice President, Tracy C. McCracken of Cheyenne. Linford observed that while the board action was "not essentially dangerous in itself it could lead to horrendous things." He also stressed the need for protecting the university as a "free market of ideas."²⁷ This editorial was the first in a series challenging the need for a textbook examination. As the dispute grew more heated, the series appeared under the byline



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Board of Trustees President Milward Simpson.



Tracy McCracken, Vice President of the Board of Trustees, also statewide newspaper publisher and Democratic Party National Committeeman from 1942-1960.

"One Man's Opinion." McCracken asked Linford to submit his editorials for review. Linford balked and apparently began looking for another job because within a year he took a position with the *Salt Lake Tribune*.²⁸

As the storm brewed, the student body joined in the academic freedom argument. Student editor Richard Redburn asserted in the *Branding Iron* that there was no basis for an examination of books and declared that the result would "embarrass a group of respected and responsible faculty members."²⁹ Redburn, a 23 year-old navy veteran, quoted an editorial from the University of Colorado student newspaper, the *Silver and Gold*, which said that "purging the books is equivalent to closing the door of the market place," to which Redburn added, "It also is equivalent to losing the doorknob."³⁰ The student senate, headed by Glen R. Daniel, questioned the purpose of the textbook examination and asked for a definition of the terms being applied by the board to suspected texts. Similar resolutions emanated from Mortar Board, women's honorary, the Associated Independent Students and the University Veterans Club.³¹ A clandestine student publication called *Common Sense* made a brief appearance as well. It evidently reflected the sentiments of a vocal minority of the student body because on January 14, 1948, it reported widespread apathy among students. Yet, on January 20, 1948, it claimed that "most students are deeply concerned, some of us are actually 'hot' about it."³²

Conversely, an equally assertive defense of the board surfaced. The Cheyenne Chamber of Commerce and central labor union boards passed resolutions backing the trustees. Moreover, the *Wyoming Eagle* (Cheyenne newspaper), owned and edited by board vice-president McCracken,³³ mounted a spirited defense. McCracken stated in an editorial of November 21, 1947, that the "freedom to write, preach, publish, read and think does not include the right to teach subversive doctrines in tax-supported public schools. An increasing number of persons, however, thinks [sic] it does. They call it academic freedom." Furthermore, he warned that purveyors of communistic theories had "wormed their way into textbook publishing houses," and that "it should be possible to check them on the classroom level."³⁴

The Wyoming controversy splashed onto the national level at Christmastime. Fred L. Nussbaum alerted Thurman Arnold, New Deal lawyer from Wyoming in Washington, who prompted Stephen White of the *New York Herald-Tribune* to investigate the controversy.³⁵ Among other things, White quoted Simpson, McCracken and Cunningham (the only trustees available for interviews during the holidays) as favoring annual textbook reviews as "a precautionary measure." Eventually stories about the U.W. investigation appeared in the *Christian Science Monitor*, *Baltimore Sun*, *Des Moines Register & Tribune*, *Chicago Sun*, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and closer to home Denver papers.

In fact, the Denver papers sided with the trustees.



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George Duke Humphrey as depicted by artist Tom Ketron.

Bruce Gustin, a *Denver Post* columnist, asked why the faculty objected to a book probe since it was no reflection on the faculty. And he observed further that rumored resignations by faculty members seemed "far-fetched." Under the heading, "Are Textbooks Sacrosanct? We Don't Think So," the *Post* observed that "We have no doubt that what the trustees want to know is whether any particular social system is being advocated in classrooms under the guise of teaching. The answer probably is 'no' and should be arrived at early."³⁶

Unguarded statements by participants on both sides inflamed opinion, as Ernie Linford indicated under the title "Bonfire Becomes a Conflagration."³⁷ Board member Dr. P. M. Cunningham sniped, "All this bunk about academic freedom doesn't impress me, . . . If there were communists on the campus — and I don't believe there are — academic freedom is exactly the cry they would be raising."³⁸ Simpson affirmed before the Lander Rotary Club that he was responsible for the textbook investigation. Moreover, he fixed blame for the unwarranted reaction to the probe on the Civil Liberties League, which charged the trustees with a breach of academic freedom in calling for an investigation. He asked, "What's it all about? I say that when there's so much fear and hullabaloo about an investigation of our textbooks, it's time we get busy."³⁹

On the other side, Professor Gale W. McGee charged that, "it was a gratuitous insult to the social science staff to imply they are not competent to select their own textbooks. Also, the trustees are aiding and abetting a national pattern of hysteria."⁴⁰ McGee occupied a difficult position due to his being the only member of the committee of fifteen without tenure. He discovered several years later

that steps had been taken to acquire detrimental evidence, if needed, to remove him: "There were students in my classes . . . whose tuition had been paid by members of the board to report on my lectures, my class lectures." He learned of this, "when three of those students . . . separately came to me and told me about it . . . and what they had to do was hand in a report to one member of the board, not the president, but an officer. . . ." ⁴¹ And Larson revealed that these tactics almost resulted in McGee's losing his job at a special meeting of the board held at Sheridan during the controversy. ⁴²

The publicity generated by the controversy increased apprehension and suspicion among townspeople. Retired realtor H. H. Roach affirmed his support for the textbook investigation, but he warned, "it shouldn't be done by other professors. It would be the easiest thing in the world to gloss over anything they might find. The job should be done by lawyers and people like that here in the community." Roach said his suspicions found confirmation during the controversy. "There's no doubt there has been some radicalism here at the university. The university kids where I park my car — I wouldn't know about it if I hadn't happened to talk to them — say the country can borrow its way out of debt, and they talk the darnedest mixture of Communism and Socialism you ever heard." ⁴³

Even though subtle pressures had come to bear behind the scenes, the *Wyoming State Tribune* declared in a United Press release that a straw poll in the city revealed unanimous support for the board. ⁴⁴ The *Denver Post* reported on January 13, that five professors threatened resignation "unless the Trustees agree to keep their hands off the textbooks." The *Post* reported further that "The professor who disclosed resignation plans of the five said he considered the trustees had 'turned against the faculty.'" ⁴⁵ R. E. Conwell of Economics and Sociology confirmed this revelation in a letter to President Humphrey on January 20, 1948, warning of a rumored student strike in support of the faculty. A student opinion poll, in the form of a petition later submitted to Humphrey, counted 261 opposed to the investigation with only fourteen in support and four with no opinion. Conwell further suggested that if an amicable resolution was not found, some faculty members might "look around" for other opportunities. ⁴⁶

An initiative for a compromise that would extricate both sides from polemical positions originated with unlikely sources — none other than Dr. P. M. Cunningham, and Tracy McCracken who had been labeled by the *Des Moines Tribune* on December 31, 1947, as "one of the fire-eaters for the investigations." ⁴⁷ McCracken wrote a letter on January 8, 1948, to Dr. E. S. Wengert, head of the Political Science Department and one of the committee of fifteen, calling for a luncheon or dinner meeting with himself and Dr. Cunningham representing the board and Wengert and Larson representing the faculty. McCracken wrote, "I feel . . . that both of you are the kind who would make every consistent effort to reach a meeting

of minds. . . ." ⁴⁸ Wengert replied on January 10, "We are earnestly committed to discovering a mutually agreeable course of action by which the outside would particularly know that the University of Wyoming is devoted to the principles of free inquiry." ⁴⁹

Larson, like McCracken, expressed his desire for calm deliberation when he made his January 8, request to meet with the board. On behalf of the faculty, Larson assured Simpson and the board that "We do not question the legal authority of the board to order the investigation." Larson hoped that a faculty committee and the board could "sit down together and discuss in a friendly way how the best interests of the university may be served." ⁵⁰ The board relented and set January 24, for a hearing date. McCracken worried that the lopsided composition of the two groups might put the board at a disadvantage. Therefore, he proposed equal representation for both sides. Even then, McCracken feared that a large, public hearing had the potential to degenerate into a brawl. His proposed Cheyenne meeting of two from each side met his expectations for moderation. ⁵¹

The informal meeting McCracken desired took place on January 20, at the Plains Hotel, Cheyenne. ⁵² In effect, the decision reached provided that there would be no further textbook investigations and the board would accept the faculty statement on academic freedom. On the same day Simpson and Humphrey released the report of the special trustees' committee to examine social science textbooks. Simpson declared, "I am indeed happy that the committee has found nothing in any social science textbook used at the University which is subversive or un-American." ⁵³ After an extended discussion on the subjectivity of the terms "un-American" and "subversive," the trustees' committee arrived at "no comprehensive or precise definition of the terms," ⁵⁴ and they charged the teacher "to lead his students . . . to point out the bias, if any, of the author and to call to his student's attention any fallacies which may appear therein." ⁵⁵ The trustees' committee concluded after examining the 65 textbooks in question that "Our examination failed to reveal any material in any book examined which, in the opinion of the committee, falls under the denomination of subversive or un-American." ⁵⁶

The trustees' committee's haste and lack of awareness of a national campaign being fostered against certain textbooks caused it to overlook certain books targeted by the would-be censors. ⁵⁷ A barrage of pamphlets had reached Humphrey and the board. ⁵⁸ The cover of one striking pamphlet asked, "How Red is the Little Red Schoolhouse?" Another, *News and Views* edited by George Washington Robnett, borrowed an illustration from the September, 1940, issue of The American Legion "magazine" with the banner headline, "Treason in our Textbooks." This pamphlet, the editor declared, hoped to awaken its readers to "a radical type of 'liberalism' that has the same goal as Communism which is spreading among educators which

is openly espoused under the license of *academic freedom*. . . .” The rest of the pamphlet discussed the “little digs here and there at our established order — and the little boosts here and there for Marxian collectivism,” hidden in textbooks.⁵⁹

More specifically, *News and Views* and many other pamphlets zeroed in on the books of Professor Harold Rugg of Teachers College, Columbia University. Rugg had endeavored to write a series of textbooks portraying American society with an assessment of both strengths and weaknesses. For this reason, his books headed the list of objectional books.⁶⁰ Some of the anti-Rugg pamphlets found audiences with President Humphrey and the Board of Trustees.⁶¹ Ironically, Humphrey later donated two of Rugg’s books to the U.W. library.⁶² But more important, Harold Rugg’s and Louise Kineger’s *The Building of America* appeared on the list of books used by the University Elementary School.⁶³

One group called “The Sons of the American Revolution” agitated for textbook examinations such as the one underway at U.W., after having won a legislative investigation of instructional materials in California. President of the Missouri Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, John W. Giesecke, sent inflammatory pamphlets to Humphrey and the Board of Trustees and requested information on the University of Wyoming textbook investigation to add to his own compilation of cases so he might agitate for a national investigation.⁶⁴

The board and Humphrey released the findings of the review committee despite faculty and public protests. Tension among the faculty was revealed the day before the textbook controversy was publicly resolved. J. Howard Craven, Assistant Professor of Economics, presented the committee of fifteen with a petition calling on them “to urge strongly upon the Board of Trustees the necessity of rescinding their action in relation to current and future textbook examination.”⁶⁵ One hundred and three faculty members — exclusive of deans, the trustees’ committee and the committee of fifteen — signed the petition out of 163 approached. Craven divided those who did not sign into five groups: Those who believed in the need for board retraction, but who would not sign; those who expressed confidence in the committee of fifteen to put forward the faculty position without further faculty interference; a third group motivated by fear; a fourth group declined without comment, or on the basis of “personal reasons” or “friend of certain Trustees” or “ignorance of the matter”; and finally a considerable number of those who disagree entirely with the faculty position, a few, “violently.”⁶⁶

Nevertheless, the proposed January 24, meeting between board and committee of fifteen took place. In the prepared statement of the committee of fifteen read by Larson before the board, he stated that “Mutual confidence . . . assures a satisfactory solution to the problem before us.” Further, he affirmed the insulation of the cam-

pus from radical doctrines. “I grant that sometime, somewhere, a trusted teacher may go haywire. He might even join the Communist party, although in this western country we would hardly know how to go about it As you know, we have no leftist organization on campus.”⁶⁷

After a brief meeting with the faculty spokesmen, the board issued a statement acknowledging the fundamentals of the faculty committee’s position and the declaration of principles of the American Association of University Professors on academic freedom. Moreover, the board agreed, textbooks would be selected by the educators in the traditional way, with the qualification, “except upon extraordinary circumstances now unforeseen.” If any further investigation was considered necessary the step would be taken only “after conferring with the president, deans and department heads concerned.”⁶⁸ The faculty accepted the statement of the board as “definitive and creditable.”⁶⁹

The resolution of the textbook investigation did fall short of the expectations of a number of faculty members as indicated by an observation Craven made to Larson and the committee of fifteen on January 22. Craven believed that “the Faculty of the University of Wyoming is less desirous of having you [the committee of fifteen] obtain a meeting of minds *per se*, than of having you obtain a meeting of minds to the effect that the Board’s textbook investigation order of October 24, 1947, should and shall be rescinded.”⁷⁰ And yet the larger part of the faculty emerged from the textbook controversy believing they had gained in power and prestige. At least there was no further public challenge to their cry for academic freedom from the board. Marshall Jones, Associate Professor of Sociology, and Gale McGee later concluded that the faculty “came of age,” displaying new camaraderie and cohesion as a result of the controversy.⁷¹ Jones wrote to Hillier that, “I believe that we have actually lost little or nothing.” In fact, Jones observed, “we have gained a pretty fair settlement of academic rights and responsibilities in full as far as the faculty is concerned plus some approach to an understanding of faculty rights and responsibilities by the Board.”⁷² In a February 5 letter to Humphrey, Jones embellished his assessment, adding greater faculty potential in policy formation, increased communication between faculty and board and greater democracy on campus as outcomes of the controversy.⁷³

The faculty and many outside observers concluded that the board’s acceptance of the statement on academic freedom reflected a faculty triumph. One commentator, Dr. Alfred Crofts of Denver University, arrived at this conclusion in a February 2, broadcast, sponsored by the Social Science Foundation of the University of Denver, over KOA Radio. Crofts focused on academic freedom as the primary issue. In reaction, Humphrey wrote to Crofts after the broadcast listing seven mistakes or misrepresentations made by Crofts, and furthermore, Humphrey wrote indignantly, “The broadcast took the viewpoint of the faculty

that the textbook investigation was an infringement upon Academic Freedom.”⁷⁴

For Humphrey and most of the board, other issues outweighed the preoccupation with academic freedom. The board never retreated from its stand by rescinding the order for the investigation. In fact, Humphrey released a statement on behalf of the board on January 26, which asserted that, “the board wishes firmly to reiterate its stand that it will not suffer or tolerate subversive teachings or practices within the University. This great institution has not been and will not be allowed to become a breeding ground for insidious un-American propaganda.”⁷⁵

The subsequent involvement of Simpson and Humphrey in the anti-communist crusade attested to their undiminished commitment. Simpson’s concern over the possible subversive threat to America through education remained strong. He presided at the Association of Governing Boards of State Universities and Allied Institutions in 1951, and told the 75 members attending the meeting at Texas A&M that “a subversive element in the United States was trying to undermine the youth of the land and catch adults in its fold.”⁷⁶ The other trustees avoided public attention on the anti-communism issue, with the exception of Governor Lester C. Hunt, ex-officio member of the board: He had not been at the October 24-25, 1947, meeting calling for an investigation, and remained aloof during the controversy making no comment when queried by the press. Later, however, his stand against Sen. Joseph McCarthy distinguished him.⁷⁷

Although many observers viewed him as neutral during the textbook controversy, Humphrey probably sympathized with the Board of Trustees as illustrated in his subsequent support of censorship activities. For example, he enthusiastically recommended *The Educational Reviewer* to William Robertson Coe, potential benefactor to the University.⁷⁸ This publication, edited by Lucille Cardin Crain, began publication on July 15, 1949, with a critical review by Edna Lonigan of Frank Abbott Magruder’s *American Government*. After incorrectly quoting and interpreting Magruder’s writing she judged it subversive of the free enterprise system.⁷⁹ Apparently Humphrey was unaware that the University High School used Magruder’s text.⁸⁰ Be that as it may, Humphrey requested a copy of the *Reviewer* from Crain and praised it in a subsequent letter saying, “I think they [the reviews] are fair and unprejudiced and give a fine analysis of the books considered. I believe your publication has a definite contribution to make to education in America.”⁸¹ Crain apparently printed Humphrey’s laudatory comments causing him “considerable embarrassment.”⁸² Humphrey had entered the anti-communist crusade, but he did not want his cause to be public if he could help it.⁸³

In private, Humphrey developed his relationship with Coe, another vocal anti-communist. Coe and Humphrey met through an introduction by Simpson. Coe’s philosophy and his long time residence in Cody naturally acquainted



William Robertson Coe.

him with the town’s most prominent resident, Simpson. When Coe proposed to give the State Historical Department a small part of his collection in late 1947, Simpson assured him that “it would have better care and attention and be more conspicuously exhibited at the University of Wyoming.”⁸⁴ Thus, Simpson introduced Coe to the university and to Humphrey. Realizing the possible benefits of Coe’s friendship with the university, Humphrey carefully cultivated Coe’s confidence. The campaign began in earnest with an honorary degree for Coe, conferred upon him in absentia in 1948.⁸⁵ Thereafter Humphrey endeavored to prove to Coe that they were ideological compatriots.

The Humphrey/Coe exchange of anti-communist, anti-subversive and free enterprise information provided the basis for an association that would pay big dividends for the University of Wyoming. Humphrey hoped to narrow Coe’s interest in Wyoming generally to the university specifically. Coe’s interest in the state dated from 1910 when he purchased Colonel Cody’s (Buffalo Bill) ranch near Cody. Coe became an enthusiast of Western Americana, collecting books, maps, manuscripts, pictures and objets d’art which he donated to Yale University — the nucleus of the Yale Collection in Western Americana. Acknowledging Coe’s largess, Yale University librarian James T. Babb said in 1954 that, “Mr. Coe believes that the best method, for dealing with the insidious and creeping influence of communism, socialism and totalitarianism and to preserve our system of free enterprise, particularly

so in our institutions of higher learnings, is to stress the teaching of America and the principles which have made it so great."⁸⁶

In furtherance of his aim, Coe suggested that Humphrey consider joining the *Freedoms Foundation*, "chartered for the purpose of expounding to the people the Constitution and the Bill of Rights."⁸⁷ Coe recommended Humphrey to Kenneth Wells, the Executive Vice President of *Freedoms Foundation*, who invited Humphrey to be on the national board of directors.⁸⁸ Humphrey also worked with Simpson on the Crusade For Freedom, organized in 1949 by a group of private citizens "determined that communism shall be stopped and freedom saved."⁸⁹

Coe had no trouble finding a sympathetic audience in Humphrey. A little more than a year after the Wyoming textbook investigation, Coe sent Humphrey a copy of the pamphlet titled, "How Red is the Little Red Schoolhouse?" with the observation, "To my mind this insidious and creeping influence of Communism in our educational institutions, and particularly with the young, is one of the great dangers to our country."⁹⁰ Humphrey replied, "I shudder to think of the movements that are developing in our country today against our type of government,"⁹¹ Humphrey added, sure that it would please Coe, that the University of Wyoming Board of Trustees had recently passed "a regulation that the University shall not employ or continue to employ any person who advocates the overthrow of the United States Government or who belongs to any organization which advocates the overthrow of the United States Government."⁹² In conclusion, Humphrey alluded to the controversy at the University of Washington, where faculty members accused of being communists lost their jobs, as an example of what must be guarded against

at Wyoming.⁹³ On November 26, 1949, Humphrey further observed, "The incident at the University of Washington last year, resulting in the Communists being expelled from the University, has, however, had a tonic effect on higher education and has caused us to re-examine our ideals and objectives."⁹⁴

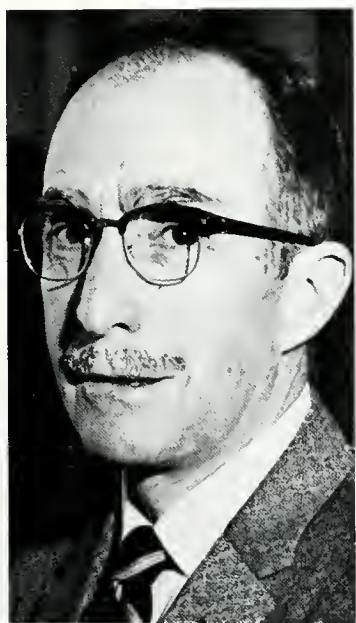
Pressing for Coe's involvement, Humphrey met personally with him twice in 1949. The first meeting occurred in late March at Phoenix, Arizona, and developed their mutual understanding. The second took place on December 11 and 12 at the Taft Hotel in New York City. After this meeting, Humphrey telegraphed Simpson in Cody, "Conference, Coe, very satisfactory. Told me would help us substantially but did not say how or when. It will take time, but he is very interested in university. It may or may not be a library."⁹⁵ At the same time, Humphrey embarked the university on an American Studies Program of its own, with a five year plan.⁹⁶ Humphrey requested a copy of Yale's American Studies Program from Coe and appointed a committee to rework the plan for Wyoming. He met with Coe in early 1950 to discuss funding for the program.⁹⁷

Coe optimistically believed the state would aid such a program. He observed to Humphrey that "with a Republican Legislature and a Republican Governor I should think a presentation of the problem of teaching 'America' without any political influences, there would be some likelihood of the State rendering assistance."⁹⁸ Humphrey informed Coe in August that he proposed to present the American Studies Program to the 1951 legislature.⁹⁹

Eventually, the University of Wyoming developed an American Studies Program. Humphrey's and Simpson's ground work with Coe in the late 1940s and early 1950s succeeded. Coe donated some 700 items to the library in 1952, and after his death on March 14, 1956, his estate provided \$1,800,000 for the construction of a library with \$750,000 to be provided by the state agency.¹⁰⁰

Anti-communism in Wyoming functioned as a barometer for gauging tensions within the state. During the 1940 senatorial campaign, Simpson adopted the issue with mixed results. He lost the election, but found many sympathetic listeners. After World War II, a succession of external and internal challenges produced a climate of opinion, in America and Wyoming, more conducive to warnings of communist subversion. The suggestion of communist subversion, both at the meeting of Governing Boards of State Universities and Allied Institutions in Ann Arbor, Michigan, and in pamphlets pointing to subversive and un-American textbooks, sanctioned the anti-communist stance at the University of Wyoming.

The faculty of the university and members of the press, however, obstructed the efforts of Simpson, the board and Humphrey, by interjecting the academic freedom issue. The historian of the communist issue at the University of Washington, Jane Sanders, defines academic freedom



AMH PHOTO

Dr. T. A. Larson,
U. of W. History Department Head.

"as the right of teachers, researchers and students to an atmosphere in which they may freely investigate and discuss whatever it is they are interested in, an atmosphere conducive to disinterested scholarship and characterized by a lack of inhibiting pressures or restraints from colleagues, the administration, the state, or other outside agents."¹⁰¹ The faculty at the University of Wyoming won acceptance of the principle with the board, but Simpson and Humphrey continued to involve themselves in anti-communist movements such as the ones calling for textbook investigations. In fact, Simpson and Humphrey used these ideas to show the University of Wyoming's great benefactor, William Robertson Coe, that they sought complementary goals.

1. Ernest H. Linford, "The Winter They Read the Books," in Ralph McWhinnie, ed., *Those Good Years At Wyoming U* (Casper, Wyoming: Prairie Publishing Company, 1965), pp. 176-180; Wilson O. Clough, *A History of the University of Wyoming* (1965), pp. 262-267.
2. Robert W. Iverson, *The Communists and The Schools* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1959).
3. Office of the President, General Files [hereafter OPGF], Minutes of the Board of Trustees, October 24-25, 1947, p. 10.
4. *Wyoming State Journal* (Lander), January 15, 1948; Humphrey to Simpson, September 8, 1947, OPGF.
5. The Wyoming Board of Trustees noted with satisfaction later that *Wyoming Compiled Statutes 1945* (Chapter 67, Article 14, Sections 1406-1410 inclusive) required instruction in the essentials of National and State constitutional government, "including the study of and devotion to American institutions and ideals . . ." The campaign against subversive or un-American doctrines in textbooks increased in intensity in the 1940s, after two decades of development. Beginning in the early 1920s, after the Red Scare, the Hearst operated *Herald Examiner* in Chicago led a spirited campaign against subversive texts. In a similar vein, Illinois utilities magnate Samuel Insull investigated texts in use in the Illinois schools in the early 1920s to purge volumes critical of the utilities. Similar textbook studies followed in Missouri, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, North and South Carolina, Ohio, Texas, Iowa, Wisconsin, Colorado, Michigan, Washington and California. Jack Nelson and Gene Roberts, Jr., *The Censors and the Schools* (Boston, Massachusetts: Little Brown and Company, 1963), pp. 32-33, 38-39; Cedric Belfrage, *The American Inquisition, 1945-1960* (Indianapolis, Indiana: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1973).
6. Simpson brought an extensive Wyoming background to the board, rich in the history of the state. His maternal grandfather, Finn Burnett, originally came to Wyoming as a participant in the Powder River campaign against the Dakota Sioux and Cheyenne Indians in 1865. His paternal grandfather, John Simpson, and his father journeyed to Wyoming in 1885 and established the first store and post office in the Jackson area. Milward's father, William, taught himself law while working as a cow puncher and practiced law for 50 years on the Wind River Indian Reservation, and at Lander, Meeteetse and Cody. Milward was born on November 12, 1897, at Jackson, Wyoming. Marjorie Dent Canbee, ed., *Current Biography 1957 Yearbook* (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1957), pp. 510-512; *Wyoming State Tribune*,

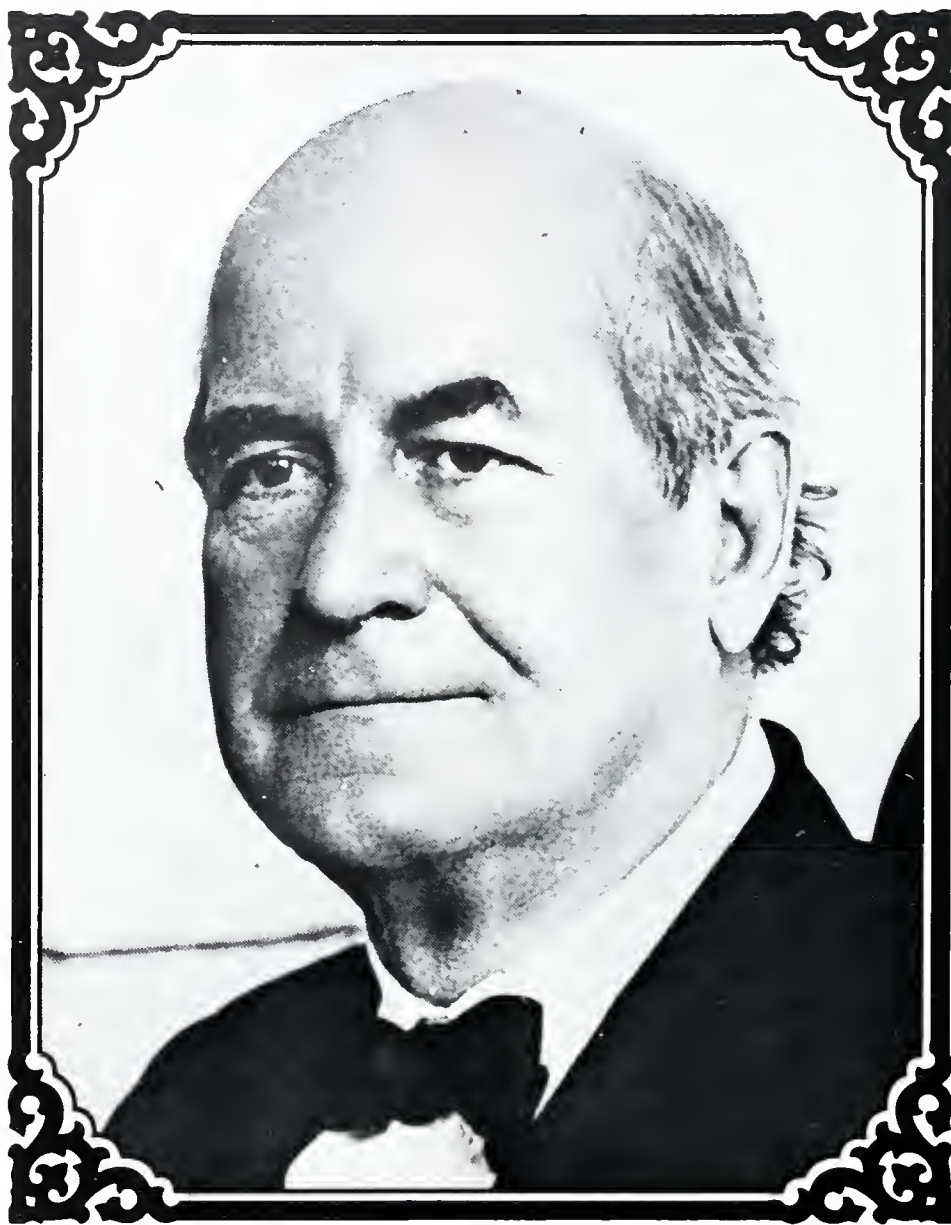
March 16, 1943; "Milward L. Simpson: Wyoming's 'Fiery Petrel' is Still Afire," *Empire Magazine of The Denver Post*, October 31, 1976, pp. 30-39.

7. Canbee, *Current Biography*, pp. 510-512.
8. Carl Latham, *The Communist Conspiracy in Washington: From the New Deal to McCarthy* (New York: Atheneum, 1969), pp. 394-399.
9. *Rock Springs Miner*, November 1, 1940.
10. *Laramie Republican Boomerang*, October 21, 1940.
11. Martin Dies wrote in his memoirs that his beliefs stemmed from the conviction that the United States had taken a wrong turn in 1933 in recognizing the USSR.
12. T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, Second Edition (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), p. 451.
13. *Laramie Daily Bulletin*, March 20, 1943. Remarkably little politics reported on board, *Rawlins Republican Bulletin*, June 21, 1945.
14. Interview with Ralph H. McWhinnie by author, Deborah Hardy and Steven Schulte, October 14, 1982. Simpson files in the OPGF bulge with correspondence whereas those of other trustees are virtually empty.
15. Humphrey had made a favorable impression on President James Lewis Morrill during their committee work on the Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities. Morrill wrote of Humphrey in this press release announcing Humphrey's appointment: "I have been closely associated with him on two committees — and have been impressed with his good judgment and common sense, his thoroughness, his constructive philosophy, and his enjoyable sense of humor." OPGF, [Press Release on G. D. Humphrey Becoming President of U.W.]. President James Lewis Morrill apprised Humphrey that his position was open. Morrill wrote to Humphrey on January 27, 1945, that, "Without knowing whether you would be at all interested and being aware of your very deep commitment to the South and your place of leadership there, I still ventured to suggest to our Board of Trustees at its meeting on January 15th that you might well be considered for the Presidency here." Morrill to Humphrey, January 27, 1945, OPGF.
16. John F. Ohles, *Biographical Dictionary of American Educators*, vol. 2 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1978), pp. 680-81. Humphrey was born on August 30, 1897, at Dumas, Mississippi, and died on September 10, 1973, at Laramie, Wyoming. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 1: 1953-1959 (New York: James T. White and Company, 1960), pp. 398-399. For a laudatory portrayal, see M. C. Wood, "The Success Story of Wyoming U.," *Coronet* (July, 1953): pp. 144-147.
17. It is T. A. Larson's opinion that Humphrey should have headed off the investigation. Interview with T. A. Larson, November 28, 1982.
18. Humphrey to Hamilton, et. al., November 12, 1942, OPGF. The other members of the committee to review the textbooks: Floyd Clarke, head of the zoology and pre-medical programs; R. D. Goodrich, Dean of Engineering; J. A. Hill, Dean of Agriculture; M. C. Mundell of the business college (later dean); W. C. Reusser of adult education (later dean); and L. L. Smith, Associate Dean of Liberal Arts.
19. Hamilton to Larson, Wengert, Sanford and Burwell, November 25, 1947, Wilson O. Clough, MSS, American Heritage Center, U.W.
20. Phi Beta Kappa Meeting, November 24, 1975, "The Textbook Investigation." Tape and transcript in possession of Richard Hillier.
21. Ruth Campbell, President AAUP and R. H. Denniston, secretary-treasurer to G. D. Humphrey, November 24, 1947, OPGF. This meeting transpired on November 19, 1947.
22. Members of the committee: Richard L. Hillier, english, secretary; Wilson O. Clough, english; John Goodman, education; Ruth Hudson, english; Marshall Jones, economics and sociology; Gale

- W. McGee, history; H. T. Northern, botany; F. L. Nussbaum, history; Lillian Portenier, psychology; W. G. Solheim, botany; H. D. Thomas, geology; Frank J. Trelease, law; and E. S. Wengert, political science.
23. William R. Steckel, "T. A. Larson: A Tribute," in Roger Daniels ed., *Essays in Western History in Honor of Professor T. A. Larson* (Laramie, Wyoming: University of Wyoming Publications, 1971), pp. vii-xi.
 24. Larson received his A.B. in 1932, and M.A. in 1933, from the University of Colorado. He earned his Ph.D. from the University of Illinois in 1937, and did post-doctoral study at the University of London, 1937-1938. He joined the faculty of the University of Wyoming in 1936 and served as head of the department from 1948-1968.
 25. Larson to Simpson, January 8, 1948, OPGF. An attached unsigned note reads, "This letter, as I see it, is an attempt to put the Trustees on the defensive. I think a simple acknowledgement of the letter and a statement that the Trustee's will be glad to have the written statement will be sufficient."
 26. Minutes of First Committee of Fifteen Meeting, December 18, 1947, in the Senate Room of the Wyoming Student Union, by Richard Hillier, Secretary, 5 pp. mimeographed, Larson Personal File.
 27. *Republican Boomerang*, October 27, 1947.
 28. *High Country News*, February 6, 1981; interview with Richard Hillier, October 22, 1982 (side B, p. 2). Harrassment occurred on the campus, as well. Anonymous letters posted on bulletin boards warned that university employed students involving themselves in the controversy might find it difficult to retain employment with the university. Murray Carroll to author at discussion following May 10, 1983, Laramie Westerners presentation, "Influences in the Wyoming Textbook Probe of 1948."
 29. *Denver Post*, January 16, 1948.
 30. *Ibid.*; Letter to author from Redburn, July 27, 1983.
 31. Glenn R. Daniel to president and Board of Trustees, January 15, 1948, OPGF; Linford, "The Winter," p. 279.
 32. *Common Sense*, January 14, 20, 1948. Richard Hillier observed that the publication, *Common Sense*, heartened the faculty. Interview with Richard Hillier, October 22, 1982 (side B, p. 5).
 33. Tracy S. McCracken graduated from the University of Wyoming in 1917. He then served as a lieutenant in the infantry during World War I. Returning to Laramie in 1919, he worked successively as reporter, city editor, editor and editor-manager of the *Laramie Boomerang*. In 1923, he moved to Casper to serve as secretary for United States Sen. John B. Kendrick. He returned to Cheyenne in 1926 and purchased the *Eagle*. He took over the *Wyoming State Tribune* in 1937. *Who's Who in the West* (Chicago, Illinois: The A. N. Marquies Company, 1953), p. 425; *Wyoming Eagle*, December 27, 1960.
 34. *Wyoming Eagle*, November 21, 1947; Staff Writer Richard Dudman's interview of McCracken in the *Denver Post*, January 12, 13, 1948.
 35. Interview with Richard Hillier, October 22, 1982. White telephoned Humphrey on the morning of December 23 for a statement. Humphrey gave him a chronological summary which formed the basis for all of his later statements. OPGF. "Statement by the President of the University of Wyoming Concerning the Investigation of Social Science Textbooks," December 26, 1947. Simpson urged this course "knowing the proclivity of the papers to distort and color things with their yellow journalism. . . ." Simpson also argued that Humphrey should, "Say that you are surprised that Arnold has encouraged this." Simpson also quipped, "We will not cowtow [sic] to a bunch of crack-pots who want to make this a publicity stunt and make a mountain out of a molehill." OPGF. "Telephone conversation with Milward Simpson," December 23, 1947.
 36. *Denver Post*, December 31, 1947.
 37. *Republican Boomerang*, January 12, 1948.
 38. *New York Herald Tribune*, December 25, 1947.
 39. *Wyoming State Journal* (Lander), January 15, 1948.
 40. *Denver Post*, January 13, 1948. This reference to "insult" angered some board members who took umbrage at their actions being so interpreted. Phi Beta Kappa, p. 15. The issue of "academic freedom" and Dr. Cunningham's observation that communists rallied to just such a cry, provoked indignant public response. For example, Jack Chambers of Cheyenne wrote to Humphrey on January 20, 1948, that, "Evidently Dr. Cunningham was endeavoring to smear all those faculty members using the term 'academic freedom,' and at the same time, was hoping to mislead the public into thinking that anyone else using the above phrase, was either a dirty 'red' or a 'fellow-traveler.' Moreover, Chambers went on, "It seems that several members of the Board of Trustees deem themselves better qualified to judge the fitness of certain textbooks than are the various faculty members who use those very same tools of their trade — textbooks.
- "I also wonder if Dr. Cunningham would be willing to allow a professor of social science to dictate the particular kind of tool to be used in doing all types of dental work; or would Atty. Simpson likewise be willing to let this same professor choose at random, the kind of law book Mr. Simpson must use as his guide in conducting a certain type of case before a court of justice; and furthermore, just how do you suppose Editor Tracy McCracken would react if this same nosy professor insisted on 'purging' some of Editor McCracken's snappy little political editorials on the grounds they were 'subversive' of present day Republicanism and might eventually cause some politically weak-kneed member of the Republican Party to repudiate 'the party line' and become a New Deal Democrat — and eventually even non-professors would all agree was much too horrible for the tender simple (almost wrote "simple-minded") mind of the average politician to contemplate." Jack Chambers to G. D. Humphrey, January 19, 1948, OPGF; "Textbook Investigation," carbon copy, Larson Personal File.
41. Interview with Gale McGee by Deborah Hardy, May, 1983, p. 10; Phi Beta Kappa meeting, November 24, 1975, p. 15; Interview with Larson, November 28, 1982, p. 5. Hillier recalled that McGee often said, "I made it possible for him to be elected to the senate because if he had ever said what he thought on that particular occasion he never would have got enough votes to be elected to the Senate." Interview with Richard Hillier, October 22, 1982, pp. 4-5. Hillier and McGee relate how Hillier sat next to McGee at the face-to-face meeting with the board on January 24, with Hillier restraining McGee from making provocative replies to board member statements. Two usable sketches of McGee's early years: Charles Moritz ed., *Current Biography Yearbook* (New York: The H.W. Wilson Company, 1961), pp. 281-283; *The National Cyclopedica*, p. 346.
 42. Interview with McGee, p. 10.
 43. *Denver Post*, January 18, 1948.
 44. *Wyoming State Tribune*, January 21, 1948.
 45. "Student Opinion Poll," Textbook Reading 1947-48, OPGF. One applicant for a position at the university purportedly stated that "My political beliefs are sufficiently conservative to arouse no question as to my loyalty." "How An Investigation of Textbooks Injures the University of Wyoming," p. 4, Larson Personal File.
 46. Conwell to Humphrey, January 20, 1948, OPGF; *Denver Post*, January 13, 1948.
 47. *Des Moines Tribune*, December 31, 1947; OPGF; *Casper Star Tribune*, October 18, 1981, for McCracken's purported affront to students at the university with his comment that, "we do not want boys and girls in their formative years, who tend to believe anything that they read in textbooks, to be exposed to insinua-

- tions." Veterans, especially, resented the idea that they could not make judgments for themselves. Murray Carroll to author, Laramie Westerners presentation.
48. McCracken to Wengert, January 8, 1948. "Textbook Investigation," Larson Personal File. In interview with Larson, November 28, 1982, Larson believed that the initiative for a compromise had to come from a board member. Larson expressed that he feared the consequences of continued agitation over the textbook issue. He wrote to Alice Keldsen who had requested a statement of facts on the textbook probe, for the Office of Alumni Relations, on January 16, 1948, that if the issue was not resolved, "the prospect is a dreary one: there will probably be resignations, replacements will be hard to find, students will demonstrate, the University will be censored by professional organizations, State support will waiver, and incalculable damage will be done to the University." Larson to Alice Keldsen, January 16, 1948, "Textbook Investigation," carbon copy, Larson Personal File. Her request for information to Board of Directors of the Alumni Association.
 49. Wengert to McCracken, January 10, 1948.
 50. Larson to Simpson, January 8, 1948, Larson Personal File.
 51. McCracken to Humphrey, January 6, 1948, McCracken mss., OPGF.
 52. Both Cunningham and McCracken served as president of the Plains Hotel Company; Thomas S. Chamberlin, ed., *The Historical Encyclopedia of Wyoming*, vol. 1 (Cheyenne, Wyoming: Published by the Wyoming Historical Institute, 1910), p. 250.
 53. Larson, Committee's Textbook Reading, OPGF.
 54. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
 55. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
 56. *Ibid.*, p. 3. Hamilton explained to Humphrey that "all the members of the committee did not examine all the books involved. Neither were all the books read from 'cover to cover.'" Hamilton to Humphrey, January 21, 1948, OPGF.
 57. The Review Committee met for the fourth time on January 15 and hastily reworked the reading assignments to meet a January 24 deadline and accommodate the board. "Unapproved Minutes of the Special Textbooks Examining Committee," pp. 1, 15, 48, OPGF.
 58. A portion of the pamphlets received by Humphrey and the Board contained racial and anti-Semitic slurs. This kind of pamphlet material is analyzed in Leo Lowenthal and Norbert Guterman, *Prophets of Deceit: A Study of the Techniques of the American Agitator* (New York: Harper and Row, 1949), pp. 6, 10, 16, 30, 32, 40, 70, 102, 137.
 59. *News and Views*, March 14, 1941, OPGF. A letter to the *Cody Enterprise*, February 11, 1948, by Martin N. Littleton, a prominent Cody attorney, reflected the flavor of these pamphlets, but more importantly, he revealed that the resolution of the controversy on the U.W. campus in no way diminished the continued intensity of the anti-communist rhetoric. Under the title "Reds on the Campus," Littleton said in part: "The Communist gets nowhere when he exercises his Right of Freedom of Speech amongst his own ungly [sic], unshorn rabble because they are already converts. To spread his Godless doctrine of despair and defeat he must sneak in under the camouflage of far loftier purposes and use the needle in a way that does not arouse the victims suspicions as to the germs he is injecting. He must seek fertile fields than which there are none better than our Universities. He comes in heavily disguised and when he is discovered he sets up the howl about being denied his Right of Freedom of Speech. "The Communist is a very active and vocal termite, so when you hear that old familiar squawk which rings so often across our fair land these days about being denied the Right of Freedom of Speech, you may, in most cases, identify it with some red worm which has crawled out from under a log and is trying to compel someone to provide him with victims into which he can inject his poison." *Cody Enterprise*, February 14, 1948.
 60. C. A. Bowers, *The Progressive Educator and the Depression: The Radical Years* (New York: Random House, 1969), pp.195-197; Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education 1876-1957* (New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, 1961), pp. 183, 233; and Frances FitzGerald, *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, 1980), pp. 36, 108, 122.
 61. Maz J. Herzberg, "Rugg, Harold," in *The Reader's Encyclopedia of American Literature* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1962), p. 982; Peter F. Carbone, Jr., "Rugg, Harold Ordway," in *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980). Rugg's publisher, Ginn and Co., reported that initially the campaign against Rugg afforded publicity for his works which sold a mere 289,000 copies in 1938, but shot up to 5,500,000 copies, in use in over 5,000 school systems in 1940. In the long run, however, the national pamphlet campaign pricked the ballooned sales of Rugg's books. By 1944 sales had plummeted to 21,000 copies.
 62. Harold Rugg, *Changing Civilizations in the Modern World: A Textbook in World Geography with Historical Backgrounds* (Boston, Massachusetts: Ginn and Company, 1930); and Harold Rugg, *American Life and the School Curriculum: Next Steps Toward Schools of Living* (Boston, Massachusetts: Ginn and Company, 1936).
 63. Hamilton to Humphrey, January 21, 1948, OPGF. See list attached to letter.
 64. Nelson and Roberts, *The Censors*, pp. 45-49. An alumnus, Russell F. Estes (M.A., Wyoming), wrote to Humphrey on March 6, 1948, calling attention to an attached clipping: "Sons of American Revolution Forced L. A. Schools to Ban Building of America 'Subversive.'" This pressure to scrutinize textbooks came too late for the public debate in Wyoming, but would have a sympathetic audience among many Wyomingites. *Educational Reviewer*, Vol. 1, No. 1 [July 15, 1949] Lucille Cardin Crain to Humphrey, September 20, 1949, OPGF. Humphrey sent the Missouri Society of the Sons of the American Revolution a "chronological summary of Development and conclusion." Humphrey to John W. Giesecke, February 12, 1948. [Outside correspondence].
 65. Larson Personal File. In interview with Larson, November 28, 1982, Larson refers to this petition as a wasted effort.
 66. To committee of fifteen, January 22, 1948. Designated the "Opposing Twenty-Four," Larson Personal File.
 67. Introductory statement of Larson, chairman of the committee of fifteen, delivered before the board of trustees, January 23, 1948, Larson Personal File, OPGF.
 68. Report of president of board of trustees, January 24, 1948. [Faculty statement].
 69. "Textbook Investigation," OPGF.
 70. Craven to committee of fifteen, January 22, 1948, Larson Personal File. Hillier reflected that many of the faculty members who did not support the committee of fifteen during the controversy changed their views with the passage of time. Interview with Hillier, October 22, 1982 [Side B, p. 9].
 71. Marshall E. Jones to Hillier, January 27, 1948, "Textbook Investigation," Hillier Personal File.
 72. Phi Beta Kappa meeting, November 24, 1975. "Textbook Investigation," tape and transcript in possession of Hillier, pp. 1, 20. Also, interview with McGee by Hardy, p. 1; Paul Crissman, Professor of Philosophy; R. E. Conwell, head of Economics and Sociology wrote to Humphrey expressing their pleasure in the outcome. Crissman to Humphrey, January 26, 1948; Conwell to Humphrey, January 27, 1948, OPGF.
 73. Jones to Humphrey, February 5, 1948 [Outside Correspondence], OPGF.
 74. Crofts to board of trustees, January 16, 1948. Humphrey did not

- hear the broadcast but received a transcript from Glenn J. Jacoby. Jacoby to Humphrey, February 13, 1948; Humphrey to Crofts, February 19, 1948; Crofts to Humphreys [sic], March 8, 1948, OPGF.
75. Office of the President, "To Members of the Instructional Staff," January 26, 1948, OPGF.
 76. *Cody Enterprise*, October 18, 1951. Simpson continued to suspect that communism had seeped into the university. He wrote to Humphrey on April 11 that editorials in the *Branding Iron* of April 7, critical of the board's procedures with the allocation of building funds, "are all scurrilous and an indication that if not a communistic trend, there is certainly a Pink trend on the editorial staff." Simpson to Humphrey, April 11, 1949.
 77. Rick Ewig, "McCarthy Era Politics: The Ordeal of Senator Lester Hunt," *Annals of Wyoming* 55 (Spring, 1983), pp. 9-21.
 78. Coe followed Humphrey's suggestion. Coe to Humphrey, October 6, 1949. "Humphrey in the middle again." Interview with Hillier, October 22, 1982, p. 9.
 79. Nelson and Roberts, *The Censors*, pp. 40-41.
 80. Hamilton to Humphrey, January 21, 1947, OPGF. See list attached to letter.
 81. Humphrey to Mrs. Kenneth C. Crain, September 26, 1949, OPGF.
 82. Humphrey to Crain, December 19, 1949, OPGF. Humphrey's interest in anti-communist literature emerges from OPGF. For instance, he made note of bulk rates for such publications as "Counter-Action" (A monthly bulletin presenting all the real facts about communism — its objectives, methods, techniques and current party line strategy; the true meaning and consequences of communism and just how it would affect you). "Communism," 1948-1949. In addition, he ordered ten reprints of the article, "The Reds Are After Your Child," by Henry D. Gideouse, *The American Magazine* (July, 1948) pp. 19, 129-30, 132-134.
 83. Before the controversy was resolved, Dr. A. J. Allegretti, a Cheyenne, Wyoming, M.D., wrote to Humphrey on January 22 that, "There is no question that textbooks over the country contain subversive comments and that this is an insidious and concerted attempt to indoctrinate our youth. . . ." Humphrey replied, "I quite agree with your point of view." Allegretti to Humphrey, January 22, 1948; Humphrey to Allegretti, February 2, 1948. Humphrey, nevertheless, made general public statements about communism during the crisis of the Korean War years. For example, he admonished new students to the university in 1950 to, "Find out all you can about Communism, the greatest threat to our way of life, so that you will be prepared to combat its influence wherever you find it." *Riverton Review*, September 21, 1950.
 84. Simpson to Humphrey, December 22, 1947, OPGF.
 85. Humphrey and Simpson conferred the Doctor of Laws Degree on Coe, in person, at a small ceremony at Coe's home at Planting Fields, Oyster Bay, Long Island, in November 1948. Simpson to Coe, October 28, 1948; Coe to Humphrey, November 4, 1948; Coe to Humphrey, March 24, 1949, OPGF.
 86. Archibald Hanna, "Collectors and Collections of Western Americana," in *Reader's Encyclopedia of the American West* (New York: James T. White and Company, 1946), p. 358; Mary C. Withington (compiler) *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Collection of Western Americana Founded by William Robertson Coe Yale University Library* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1952); James T. Rabb, *William Robertson Coe and His Library of Western Americana*, An Address Given Before the University of Wyoming Library Associates, July 23, 1954, p. 6. Coe termed the present the "Socialistic Millenium." He added, "I venture the opinion that the best method of dealing with the insidious and creeping influence of Communism, particularly in our institutions of learning, is to stress the teaching of America and the principles which have made it so great." "Coe Remarks at Yale Dinner," attached to Coe to Humphrey, April 26, 1949.
 87. Coe to Humphrey, May 27, 1949. "Coe, W.R.," OPGF.
 88. Coe to Humphrey, September 23, 1949. "Freedom's Foundation" 1950-51; Kenneth Dale Wells to Humphrey, September 26, 1949; Humphrey to Wells, October 3, 1949.
 89. "Crusade For Freedom," Press release, January 18, 1951, OPGF. Humphrey served as state chairman and Simpson organized the Cody area. Lucius D. Clay, National Chairman, to Humphrey, December 13, 1950; Humphrey to Don F. Martin, October 20, 1950. Humphrey resigned as state chairman due to the work involved on April 24, 1952. Humphrey to Harold B. Miller, President, Crusade for Freedom.
 90. Coe to Humphrey, April 26, 1949, OPGF. The statement, "The little red school house is redder than you think" had been attributed to Simpson prior to the textbook investigation, suggesting that he may have been influenced by this pamphlet before Humphrey and the board received it on December 31, 1947. Larson refers to the statement in: interview with Larson, November 28, 1982; interview with Hillier, October 22, 1982 [Part A, p. 9]; Phi Beta Kappa meeting, November 24, 1975 [Tape and transcript in possession of Hillier, p. 14]. Coe expressed these comments at a Yale dinner on April 20, 1949. Coe to Humphrey, April 20, 1949. Remarks attached to letter.
 91. Humphrey to Coe [cc to Simpson], May 3, 1949, OPGF.
 92. Humphrey to Coe. Coe responded, "I am glad to read of the regulation recently adopted by your Board of Trustees. The Communists and such always try to influence the minds of the young." Coe to Humphrey, May 27, 1949, OPGF.
 93. Jane Sanders, *Cold War on the Campus: Academic Freedom at the University of Washington, 1946-64* (Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1979).
 94. Humphrey to Coe, November 26, 1949. Humphrey got his information from "The University of Washington Record," Vol. 1, No. 5, February, 1949, in OPGF, "Communism," 1948-1949; and AAUP Chapter Bulletin, Vol. 6, No. 1, February, 1949, "The Tenure Cases At the University of Washington, 1948-1949."
 95. Western Union Telegram to Simpson from Humphrey, n.d.; Meeting set. Humphrey to Coe, December 5, 1949, OPGF.
 96. Humphrey to Coe, January 5, 1950. The adoption of the American Studies Program did not always go as smoothly as Humphrey planned. For example, Larson, who served on the committee to rework the Yale program for Wyoming, wrote to Humphrey on March 2, 1950, that the committee balked when it "came to endorsing slogans with political overtones, many of them strikingly similar to Republican Party slogans in an election year." Larson to Humphrey, March 2, 1950, OPGF.
 97. The meeting occurred at Coe's Phoenix, Arizona, retreat at the Castle Hotel. Coe to Humphrey, February 22, 1950.
 98. Coe to Humphrey, April 18, 1950.
 99. Humphrey to Coe, August 21, 1950.
 100. Emmett D. Chisum, "Notes On The Development of the University of Wyoming Libraries and Special Collections," *Annals of Wyoming* 54 (Spring, 1982), pp. 30-31. Simpson, elected Governor of Wyoming in 1954, praised his generosity in his "Message Delivered to the Thirty-Third Session, Wyoming Legislature" in 1955. "The simple and most effective process of combating Communism and Fascism in the teaching of what is right with America, as evidenced by its historic past, . . . Mr. Coe's gift is being used in various ways to build up the role of one University in American Studies. . . ." p. 11.
 101. Sanders, *Cold War*, p. vi.



William Jennings Bryan

The Great Commoner in Carbon County

William Jennings Bryan's Visits to Saratoga and the Encampment Valley

by Gay Day Alcorn

William Jennings Bryan's visits to the Saratoga and Encampment Valley in 1901 and again in 1904, caused a furor of excitement which was long remembered by local Democrats and Republicans. Twice a candidate for President of the United States of America and twice defeated by William McKinley, Bryan was even so the virtually undisputed leader of the Democratic party. At the zenith of his political career, he was considered a powerful and dramatic figure in American politics. From 1896 until his death in 1925, Bryan's influence was evident. Some even compared him to Henry Clay and James G. Blaine.

Valley citizens were delighted to have a nationally known personality come to their portion of the state although they usually voted Republican. In 1901, Bryan was the guest of Dr. John E. Osborne for ten days of fishing in the valley. Osborne was a member of the Democratic National Committee, had been Governor of Wyoming from 1893 to 1895, and Wyoming's Congressman in Washington, D.C. from 1897 until 1899. He was also a prominent Rawlins doctor and considered one of Carbon County's largest sheep ranchers.

A speaking engagement was arranged in Saratoga at the Jensen Opera House¹ for the "Boy Orator of the Platte," who talked before a packed house for an hour. He spoke on issues of his last campaign, and while Republicans hoped his speech would be nonpartisan, they were happy to have the opportunity to hear him anyway. Following the talk, the hall was cleared for dancing and almost everyone had a chance to shake hands with the famous man.²

In 1904, Platte Valley people were interested to learn William Jennings Bryan planned to bring his family, private secretary and physician to the region for a couple of weeks vacation. *The Saratoga Sun* announced that Bryan had been in poor health for some time and was looking for "rest and pleasure."³ When the entourage arrived in the area people learned Dr. Osborne was acting as personal physician to Bryan. Osborne could not have timed the visit better, because he was engaged in a second campaign for Governor of Wyoming that fall against Bryant B. Brooks. The Democratic gubernatorial candidate was happy to receive the support and friendship of the most prestigious man in his party.

The vacation began with a burst of fanfare when the group reached Saratoga. Mayor Charles P. Clemmons put his Rochester Heights home, regarded as the most elaborate in town, at the disposal of Bryan and Osborne, and the banquets and receptions began. Clemmons, a staunch Democrat, was an attorney and a leading mining entrepreneur who prided himself on successfully negotiating the million dollar sale of the famed Ferris-Haggarty mine above Encampment. Clemmons' charming young wife, Mayme, was the eldest daughter of the I. C. Millers of Rawlins, one of the most prominent families in the county.

First there was the large but informal reception at the Clemmons residence on Monday evening. The Ladies Guild of the Episcopal Church also chose that night for their social at the rectory.⁴ Bryan and Osborne excused themselves from the Clemmons reception long enough to go to the Episcopal soiree where there were many people to greet them. They both made short speeches and the event was regarded as a tremendous success.

Tuesday found the Bryan and Osborne party ready for some sport. The famous orator had been putting on some weight but looked well nevertheless. He dressed for the out-of-doors in a light corduroy suit and a wide brimmed slouch hat. The men set off on a fishing excursion on the Platte River north of Saratoga at the Pick Bridge. One of the community's foremost fishermen, George (Baldy) Sisson was selected to guide the trip. When they reached their destination, Bryan took up a position on the bridge and Sisson went downstream. After a prescribed length of time, Sisson came back to the bridge. "The Great Commoner," as he was also called, had nothing to show for his time, but the local fisherman had a great mess of fish. The politician could not understand this disparity of fortune. Sisson, who was regarded as a local wit said, "I thought you just wanted to go fishing, I didn't realize you wanted to catch fish."⁵

The party did not have much better luck duck hunting than they did fishing until they happened onto the ranch of Louis G. Davis, south of town.⁶ Here they "bagged" some of Davis' tame ducks. Rumors ran rife that Davis, a prominent Republican, was not happy to have his ducks shot regardless of who was among the hunting party.



PHOTO COURTESY RICHARD PERUE

The Saratoga residence of Mr. and Mrs. Charles P. Clemmons.

The Bryans and Osborne were guests for dinner and the night at the ranch home of Mr. and Mrs. Harry Kuykendall, also south of Saratoga. Kuykendall was the son of Wyoming's influential pioneer, Judge William L. Kuykendall. The old family were likewise owners of the large H Bar Ranch.⁷ Georgia Kuykendall was also a daughter of the I. C. Millers, and a sister of Mrs. Clemmons.

The next night the Saratoga Eastern Star had the statesman lined up for a "little banquet." Knowing how their guest liked to eat, they provided their best recipes at the Masonic Lodge which was well decorated with red, white and blue swags. Again, both men made short speeches and everyone reminded themselves that the object of Bryan's visit was for a rest.⁸

The thriving mining town of Encampment was the site of Thursday's activities for the group including Bryan, his wife, Osborne, Saratoga's Mayor Clemmons and Bryan's secretary Mr. Harrison. The whirlwind tour began when they arrived at two in the afternoon and a large dinner was prepared for them at the Bohn Hotel. As soon as they finished eating, the men rushed to city hall where Encampment's Mayor William M. Englehart called the meeting to order. Dr. Osborne gave a brief talk and then Bryan began his address. There was great applause and a number of nearby dogs began to bark. When quiet was again restored, Bryan said the meeting was obviously a "howling success." He went on telling that President Roosevelt was a good fellow, but underneath he was warlike in nature. The orator took serious exception to the President's recent statement to the West Point cadets that a

soldier should be ready and anxious to fight. He taunted that a fireman might as well be in a hurry for a fire to start, or an undertaker anxious for a death. In concluding, he said his gospel of peace was greater than his love of gold and silver.⁹ Later, an informal reception was given at the Bohn Hotel for Mrs. Bryan by the ladies of Encampment. Following this the group toured the Encampment smelter and headed back to Saratoga.

Democrats and Republicans were both invited to Friday evening speeches at the Jensen Opera House. The packed building rocked with applause for the two men even though it was estimated the audience was two-thirds Republican. Mayor Clemmons again introduced the speakers. Osborne said he was a somewhat unwilling candidate for governor and had nothing personal against the Honorable B. B. Brooks. He went on to say he really cared nothing for the position. Mark Crawford, the Republican editor of the *Saratoga Sun* added, "anyway he says he doesn't."¹⁰

Crawford hurried to point out, "the political barometer [here] remains about the same." He had other barbs regarding Bryan's speech on imperialism, noting "... it was plain to be seen that the man who is wedded to silver is still in error on the subject of imperialism also. . . . The result of the past four years would hardly warrant a thinking man in following Mr. Bryan now."¹¹

A lively dance followed the speeches, and despite Crawford's opinions, "thinking people" were pleased to meet Bryan.

When Bryan visited the valley in 1901, he expressed a desire to see the headwaters of the North Platte River,



PHOTOS COURTESY CARBON COUNTY MUSEUM

because he was known throughout the nation as the "Boy Orator of the Platte." He was taken farther south on a fishing excursion through the fertile Brush Creek area, where he received a warm welcome. The local school children and their teacher, Miss Georgie Bailey, stood beside the road clapping and cheering "Hurrah for Bryan," as the party went past.¹² At the lovely Tilton Ranch home, they were invited to return for a longer stay at their earliest convenience. On this first fishing trip Bryan found the reason for his nickname, he laughingly said, "It was because of the wide expanse of mouth."¹³

Bryan and Osborne accepted the Tilton's offer of a return visit for the second half of the 1904 trip. With the first week's appearances and obligations out of the way, the little group was free to head up the river to rest and relax at the Tilton Ranch. Early Saturday morning, sixteen-year-old Cecil Ryan, was sent out from Saratoga on a fast horse to Tiltons with word the famous guests were on the road and would be arriving shortly.

William E. Tilton was a wealthy rancher from Massachusetts with a sizeable spread. His cattle were run under the well known T up and T down brand.¹⁴ He was a Republican yet to be elected to public office, but he had been a member of the returning board which seated Osborne in the Wyoming governor's chair in 1893. This act did not make Tilton popular with fellow Republicans but Osborne felt kindly toward him. Ellen Judd Tilton, his wife, was the social arbitrator of the community for a number of years. She came to the valley from an old New England family and was very well educated. Her home was considered one of the nicest,¹⁵ and Tilton's table was usually covered with many elaborate dishes made from recipes which Ellen brought from the East.

Bryan and Osborne spent the week hunting and fishing on the Platte River and on Brush Creek. The orator even took time out to plant a flag pole and put up a white flag on top of Bennett's Peak, a neighborhood landmark.¹⁶

The three Bryan children also had a chance to relax and a time to enjoy life in Wyoming's great ranching country. Their eldest daughter, nineteen-year-old Ruth, accompanied the family even though the year before she had married against her parents' wishes to William Homer Leavitt, a portrait painter. Unlike her thirteen-year-old sister Grace, who was a frail and quiet person, Ruth was a sports enthusiast with an exuberant nature. Ruth and her fifteen-year-old brother, Williams Jennings Bryan, Jr., joined the local young people and rode horseback throughout the area.¹⁷

Charles P. Clemmons (top), Saratoga's staunchly Democratic Mayor, played host to Bryan. John E. Osborne (bottom), Rawlins physician, sheep man, former Governor and Congressman, also served as Bryan's host.



W. E. Tilton

Friends and neighbors of Tilton's were all welcome to stop by and meet the famed Democrats. A community picnic was also held at Frank Sterrett's Ranch and everyone had a second chance to get together and talk with the visitors. The barbecue was good but the flies and mosquitos were fierce.¹⁸ All in all, this week in the country was a very pleasant interlude for the renowned guests.

Despite the campaign help Osborne received from the "Boy Orator of the Platte," a few weeks later he was defeated in his race for a second term as Governor of Wyoming, by B. B. Brooks.

In years to come Brush Creek residents forgot all about Osborne's political defeats, and Bryan's third unsuccessful try for President of the United States in 1908, when he labored in vain to beat William Howard Taft. Neither did they recall the early days of President Woodrow Wilson's first administration when William Jennings Bryan was appointed Secretary of State, and Osborne was appointed his first assistant.

What people did remember, was Bryan the staunch Presbyterian, who neither smoked, drank, chewed nor swore, allowing his daughter Ruth, to ride horseback all over the area wearing pants. It was a perfect scandal!

1. The Jensen Opera House was built in 1900 by Gustave Jensen in the 100 block of West Main Street, next door to the Masonic Lodge. Later, it was moved to a new location, 110 West Bridge Street, where it is known as the Range Theatre.
2. *The Saratoga Sun*, September 15, 1904.
3. *Ibid.*
4. The Episcopal rectory built in 1890, on the corner of Main and First Streets is still used for its original purpose.
5. Author's interview of the late Joseph Tichenor, in Saratoga in 1977. Mr. Tichenor was a member of the fishing party that day.



Helen Judd Tilton

6. The Louis G. Davis Ranch is now a portion of the Lazy R Ranches, Inc., owned by Charles W. McIlvaine.
7. Kuykendall's H Bar Ranch is better known today as the Mill Ranch owned by Nicholas Petry.
8. *The Saratoga Sun*, September 22, 1904. The Masonic Lodge located on a corner of Main and First Streets is still used as a Masonic Lodge. The structure was enrolled in the National Register of Historic Places in 1978.
9. *Grand Encampment Herald*, September 23, 1904.
10. *The Saratoga Sun*, September 29, 1904.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Author's interview of Robert D. Young, at the Young Ranch near Brush Creek, in 1977. The Brush Creek School District Number 22, was located at the Charles C. Young Ranch. Robert Young, the son of Charles, was one of the students during this time.
13. *Saratoga Sun*, August 27, 1901.
14. The Tilton Ranch has been owned for many years by John Rouse, a leading authority and author of three books on western cattle and one on Spanish cattle in the Americas. (All are published by University of Oklahoma Press.) The ranch is known today as the One Bar Eleven Ranch.
15. Charles E. Winter, *Grandon of Sierra* (New York: J. J. Little and Ives Co., 1907), pp 120-123. Winter's thinly disguised account gives an excellent picture of the ranch home. He said, "No more pleasant quarters could be imagined."
16. This old flag pole can still be seen at the Grand Encampment Museum in Encampment, Wyoming.
17. Leavitt was much older than his wife Ruth. He later abandoned her and their children to study art in Paris, and in 1909 they were divorced. Ruth successfully supported herself and her family, a woman of letters being a writer, lecturer, speech instructor, and Congresswoman. She served as Minister to Denmark from 1910 to 1936 and she was married two other times. When Ruth died in 1957 she was buried in Copenhagen.
18. Author's interview of Mary Ridding Morgan, in Denver, Colorado, in 1980. The Sterrett Ranch is best known today as the Brush Creek Ranch, and it has been owned for many years by Mrs. I. R. Caldwell.

HANDHEWN TIES of the MEDICINE BOWS

by Robert G. Rosenberg

INTRODUCTION

Driving across the magnificent Snowy Range road, hiking or fishing along the trails and streams of the Medicine Bow National Forest, today's visitor may be unaware of the colorful era of the railroad tie industry and of the rugged life of the tie hack in these mountains less than a half century ago. The tie industry left few physical remnants; it did not change the face of the mountains. However, traces of both the industry and its men still exist for those who will take the time and effort to seek out the old, weathered, v-notched cabins, silted-in splash dams, or rotting stacks of unshipped, handhewn ties. Even these few signs gradually are being reclaimed by the forest.

The Medicine Bow region of Wyoming was the center of the handhewn railroad tie industry from 1867 to 1940. Construction of the transcontinental railroad through the heart of the region in 1867 and 1868 was the catalyst for this development. Had Chief Engineer Grenville Dodge and the Union Pacific Railroad Company chosen a route north or south of the area, the pattern for development of the Medicine Bow region would have been drastically altered.¹

For this study, the Medicine Bow region is defined as those portions of the Laramie and Medicine Bow Ranges bordering the Laramie Plains in southeastern Wyoming. The Sierra Madre Range, paralleling the Medicine Bow Range to the west, also was utilized in the railroad tie industry. These three ranges are now included in the Medicine Bow National Forest of Wyoming.

By 1867, the basic components of a great industry were united in what is now southeastern Wyoming. Large stands of lodgepole pine in the Medicine Bow area adjacent to the right-of-way of the Union Pacific were the first significant timber reserves encountered after crossing the treeless plains to the east. The region also contained a large number of "driveable" streams and rivers down which the hewn ties could be transported from remote areas to the railroad mainline.

Not only were the railroad crossties cut in this region for the Union Pacific during its initial building phase, but an enduring industry developed based on the need for periodic tie replacement along the line. The "tie hack," with his broadax and brawn, was the key figure in this industry. He hewed ties from the native stands of lodgepole pine and delivered the finished product to market by means of the now-legendary tie drives. This tie industry and accompanying unique way of life persisted until 1940, when the Union Pacific Railroad no longer accepted handhewn, river driven ties. The tie industry in the Medicine Bow region, its great timber companies, the tie hacks, and the regulating role of the United States Forest Service contribute to the story of one of Wyoming's most colorful eras.

Pioneers in the Medicine Bow Tie Industry

One of the most basic components of railroad construction is the wooden crosstie. Tie hacks (men who cut crossties), pike poles, pickaroons, broadaxes, thick forests of lodgepole pines and ice-choked mountain streams comprised the elements of the railroad tie industry era. The tie industry in the Medicine Bow region began with the construction of the first transcontinental railroad, and was shaped by the pioneer timber companies and their relationship to the Union Pacific Railroad in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

As early as March and April, 1867, the Laramie Mountains were ". . . swarming with hundreds of men engaged in cutting and hauling ties."² The Union Pacific Railroad reached the site of present-day Cheyenne, Wyoming, on November 13, 1867, but the severe winter prevented construction progress for more than a few miles beyond that point. However, railroad tie and cordwood cutting continued unabated in the Laramie Mountains (first known as the Black Hills). Newspapers in Cheyenne and Denver constantly advertised for more laborers. At least three companies, Gilman and Carter, Paxton and Turner, and Sprague, Davis and Company, contracted with the Union Pacific Railroad in 1867 to cut ties in this region prior to continued construction the following spring.³

A major consideration of the tie industry throughout its history involved efficient transportation of the ties. During the earliest operations in the Laramie Range, ties were hauled and skidded to the railroad right-of-way by teams of oxen and horses. Robert Chambers had told tie contractors about timber stands in the Chambers Lake vicinity in northern Colorado, and explained that ties could be hauled to the headwaters of the Laramie River and driven, or floated to the railroad on the Laramie Plains. Crews were sent into the area and established a camp on the shore of the lake. Ties were cut, skidded and banked along the Laramie River to await the spring thaw. This 1868 drive may have been the first significant tie drive in the Medicine Bow region and, indeed, in the Rocky Mountain West.⁴

Although many of the first tie hacks or choppers were restless Civil War veterans seeking adventure on the western frontier, Gilman and Carter's first tie camp at Pine Bluffs was composed primarily of French-Canadians experienced in logging.⁵ A great influx of Scandinavian choppers occurred later in the 19th century.

Gilman and Carter's main camp was moved west from Pine Bluffs to a point about one mile north of Ft. Sanders in the fall of 1867. In June, 1868, they established a camp two and one-half miles north of Sherman, Wyoming, called Sherman Camp Station. Other tie camps were established south of Tie Siding and at Rock Creek and Medicine Bow in Wyoming, along the Union Pacific right-of-way. An estimated several hundred thousand ties and 100,000 cords of firewood for steam engines were cut near Sherman Station and Tie Siding so that the tie contractors, "... had stripped the hills and canyons for many miles north of Sherman and Tie Siding Stations."⁶ These camps should not be confused with Tie City, a large tie camp situated near the head of Telephone Canyon, which was active during the early tie cutting operations. Tie City is now the site of the Tie City forest campground.

The Gilman and Carter organization was composed of two factions: the Gilman Brothers headed by John Gilman; and the Carter faction, composed of the partnership of Levi Carter and General Isaac Coe. Due to a contract dispute, the partnership was dissolved by mutual consent; henceforth the two companies operated separately as the Gilman Brothers and Coe and Carter.⁷ The Coe and Carter company became the dominant force in the tie industry in Wyoming prior to 1900.

Coe and Carter paid 35 to 65 cents and received \$1.00 to \$1.30 for each tie from the Union Pacific, a handsome profit for that time. Ties were delivered at Sherman Station, Ft. Sanders, and other points along the railroad right-of-way. Cordwood, used as fuel for engines, was purchased at \$6.00 to \$8.00 per cord and sold to the railroad for \$12.00 to \$16.00 per cord.⁸

Numerous local merchants in and around the new town of Laramie, Wyoming, including Wilcox and Crout, C. H. "Charlie" Bussard, J. S. McCool, Charley Hutton, the Dawson Brothers and the Trabing Brothers, participated in the business of supplying the Union Pacific with ties. All of these interests participated in the large tie drives down the Little and Big Laramie Rivers during the 1870s and 1880s, and in providing cut lumber for the construction of the railroad town on the Laramie Plains.⁹

C. H. "Charlie" Bussard was successful in the timber industry during the early 1870s and was known to enlist emigrants passing through Laramie to work in his tie camps. The *Laramie Daily Sentinel* ran the following advertisement for Bussard:

A Chance for Laborers:

I wish to contract for the making and delivering of railroad ties anywhere on the line of the U.P.R.R., from the Black Hills to Elk Mountain, for which I will pay cash every thirty days.¹⁰

The Laramie community realized the economic benefits of the tie industry and praised Bussard's efforts in 1872:

Charles (Bussard) is doing a good deal to develop the resources of this country. We suppose he will within a year's time convert the timber standing in the mountains into from 75 to 100 thousand dollars. In doing this he will furnish employment for several hundred men, who with families, will become citizens among us and help to build up all branches of industry and trade in our midst.¹¹

J. S. McCool centered his operations at Tie Siding, Wyoming, in 1874, and at Red Buttes the following year. Tie Siding quickly grew into a settlement with a school, railroad station, telegraph office and a number of dwellings. By 1876, McCool was employing 250 men and had produced 100,000 ties by the end of the summer.¹²

The Dawson Brothers maintained a headquarters and commissary near the junction of McIntyre Creek and the Laramie River in Colorado in the 1870s. During the Panic of 1873, they suffered financial setbacks, and their operations were temporarily taken over by Coe and Carter. However, 1876 newspaper accounts stated that the Dawsons had brought in 80,000 to 90,000 ties on the annual drive.¹³

The Trabing Brothers, mercantile dealers and freighters whose operations were centered in the towns of Medicine Bow and Laramie, Wyoming, had so many government contracts that, in 1877 they required 75 to 100 teams for hauling goods. They were also involved in the railroad tie business, and, in 1878, brought in two drives which netted 42,000 ties.¹⁴

The Handhewn Tie

Although over 2,500 patents have been issued for substitute materials, the wooden crosstie has endured. Five characteristics are necessary in a wooden tie: durability, treatability, resistance to impact, resistance to spike pulling and lateral displacement of spikes and a large and inexpensive supply.¹⁵

The Medicine Bow region of Wyoming has been blessed with vast stands of lodgepole pine. Although it is not necessarily the best wood for making crossties (oak is considered the best), its attributes are straight and tall growth, gradual taper, relatively clear bole, and ideal size for hewing. A tree 16 inches in diameter can yield as many as six crossties.¹⁶

The ideal lodgepole pine for ties was about 11 inches in diameter at breast height, allowing the hack to reach the required dimensions with a minimum of scoring and hewing while still yielding several ties. Historic photographs and written accounts reveal that the first ties for the transcontinental railroad were chopped to length instead of sawn. Stacks of crude chopped ties were common finds in the woods of the Medicine Bows in the 1920s, and as late as the 1950s such ties were found on Elk Mountain.¹⁷ An eight foot tie length became standard, and in the 1870s the Union Pacific required a width and depth of seven inches. "Specifications demanded that the tie have at least five inches of hewn surface on both sides."¹⁸



Tools of the tie hack with finished tie.

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An efficient method of tie production evolved and was adopted by most timber operations. Each tie hack was allotted his own strip of timber which was about 150 feet to 200 feet wide and up to one-half mile long. His first task was to cut an eight foot wide skid road lengthwise through his timber strip so that the finished ties could be hauled out. The tie hack, an individualist who preferred to work alone on his own strip using his own methods, worked both sides of the road and was responsible for dragging the finished tie to the strip road and stacking it.¹⁹

The tie-making process began by the tie hack felling a suitable tree with a one-man crosscut saw and limbing it with a double-bitted ax, which was also used to score the two opposite surfaces to be hewn. Scoring established the dimensions for a tie and saved time in hewing. Some tie hacks used a chalk line on each side to be sure of the dimensions, but many of the experienced hacks could "eye up" a tree. The entire length of the tree was usually scored with the tie hack working from butt to top, standing on the trunk as he worked. The upper portion of the tree, which was too small for ties, was often used for making mine props. The double-bitted ax was then exchanged for the now-legendary broadax which weighed seven pounds, and had a ten to twelve-inch blade. The scored surfaces were hewn to final dimensions working along the grain of the wood. A finished surface hewn by a skilled

hack would look as though it had been planed. The bark on the surface upon which he had been standing was then removed with a "spud" or "spud peeler," a long, wooden-handled tool with a curved blade on one end. In the Medicine Bow region, the peeler was often crafted by the camp blacksmith from the blades of discarded crosscut saws, and was preferred over the manufactured item.²⁰

The tie hack carried an eight foot guide stick for measuring tie lengths. The hewn log was cut into lengths, and the last step involved peeling the bark from the previously unexposed underside of each tie. The chopper dragged the finished tie to the strip road with a pickaroon, a tool resembling an ax with a metal point on one end which was sunk into the tie, and he stacked the ties along the road, five high with no less than 25 ties to a stack.²¹

Since tie making was piece work, the tie hack strove for efficiency. A competent hack could make 20 to 25 ties per day in the Medicine Bow region. Some achieved a reputation for cutting 50 or more ties in a day, but such a pace was difficult to maintain day after day. As the 20th century progressed, virgin stands of timber became scarcer thereby reducing the efficiency of the tie hack.²²

Tie hacks received a price per tie which tended to fluctuate significantly depending on the company, time period and the demand. During the rush to complete the first

transcontinental railroad, the tie hack received 35¢ to 65¢ per tie, however this price dropped after the railroad was completed.²³ Coe and Carter, one of the pioneer timber companies, paid as little as seven to eight cents per tie before the end of the 19th century.²⁴ In 1904, the Carbon Timber Company was paying twelve to fourteen cents per tie, and in 1914, fifteen cents per tie.²⁵ A local newspaper, reporting on a successful strike of the Foxpark Tie and Timber Workers Union in 1934, stated that they were to receive 25¢ for a first grade tie, seventeen cents for seconds, and twelve cents for thirds.²⁶ The tie hack's wages compared favorably to other manual labor available in the West at that time. The hack usually constructed his own cabin near his strip with materials available in the forests as well as those provided by the company.²⁷

Once the tie was made and stacked along the strip road, the work of the tie hauler began. The tie hauler owned his team of two horses and often had a third. In addition, he had to provide the fodder, harnesses, and hauling sleds. Hauling was done in the winter and spring months when snow covered the ground. Sixteen-foot sleds called go-devils, and capable of carrying 50 ties per trip were used. The hauler worked the strip roads which were inter-connected with main roads throughout the cutting area. Stacked ties were loaded and hauled to the landing banks to await the spring thaw and tie drive. In springtime, or whenever the roads had bare spots, a "road monkey" often followed the team to shovel snow under the sled runners. The tie hauler hoped to make four trips per day, depending on the distance from the cutting area to the landings. With a rate of 15¢ per tie and four trips of 50 ties each, in the 1920s a hauler could make up to \$30 per day. It would appear that the tie hauler made very good wages, however, he was responsible for maintaining a team of horses in winter in the mountains and his overhead was high.²⁸

The Medicine Bow Tie Drives

"Your legs would turn blue — they'd get stiff. Once in a while we had to build a fire up on the bank. Then we'd stand there and jump up and down. God, you like never got the circulation going. You pretty near froze your legs off!" Andy Moline, tie hack and river rat.²⁹

The tie drives (floating cut ties on fast-flowing streams) began on the smaller streams in late spring in the Medicine Bow region, usually in May when the snow began to melt. On the west side of the Medicine Bow Range, ties were driven down the various tributaries to Douglas Creek. A tie drive in 1938 by the Wyoming Timber Company serves to illustrate the procedure followed in that area.³⁰

"Splash dams" were built near the headwaters of the smaller streams. As the snow began to melt, the splash dam could be closed at night, storing needed water to be released the next day, carrying ties down an otherwise undriveable stream. As water was released, the landings were broken up with pike poles and pickaroons, and the ties were floated downstream. The Wyoming Timber



MEDICINE BOW COLLECTION, AMERICAN HERITAGE CENTER

Tie hack at work with broadax. Note size of ax blade in comparison to man's head.

Company used a large pond on the headwaters of Douglas Creek which was filled at night and opened in the early morning. The drive to the North Platte River required three weeks and about 40 men working ten-hour days. Keystone and Devil's Gate were considered the most difficult sections along the creek, due to narrow canyons and steep gradients.³¹ A v-shaped flume was constructed and used in the early 20th century at Devil's Gate to negotiate the canyon. A similar flume was used on Muddy Creek and in several other places in the Medicine Bow region. Chutes, such as the Sederlin Slide, were often built on steep hillsides in order to slide the ties down to water courses below.

Tie drives were timed to take advantage of the short period of "high water" when the snows began to melt. Waiting too long could result in the stranding of ties and other materials for another season. The tie driver or "river rat" was skilled at handling ties and wading ice-cold waters over slick rocks. Tie-log jams occurred occasionally and were dangerous because of the tremendous water pressure which could build up. Experienced drivers scrambled atop the jam, attempting to dislodge key ties without being caught when it suddenly exploded free. A 1905 account in the *Grand Encampment Herald* describes a tie jam which ended in disaster:

It was reported Monday morning that a man employed on the French Creek tie drive was drowned Sunday night while assisting his partner in breaking a jam. The ties gave way, both men falling in front of them in swift water. One man succeeded in getting back on the ties but a tie struck one on the head and he was washed down against a tree, where the ties piled upon him. . .³²



MEDICINE BOW COLLECTION: AMERICAN HERITAGE CENTER

Ties, mine props and saw logs jammed in a drive on Douglas Creek. A jam of this magnitude could require dynamite to dislodge it.

The ties had to be kept moving steadily downstream, avoiding rocks, islands, or any other obstruction, including sloughs and low spots outside the channel. Once the ties reached the North Platte River, they were boomed and held until the water receded into its natural banks. Otherwise, high water could carry the ties far from the channel, where they would be stranded when the waters receded.

"Lead gangs" preceded the main drive in order to keep ties from floating into side channels, sloughs, and low spots, especially along the North Platte where the river meandered across wide meadows. These men often built barriers, called cribs, across channels to prevent the ties from floating into them. Perhaps the most difficult part of the drive involved carrying grounded ties back to the main channel across mud flats. A water-logged tie, which could weigh about 200 pounds, was hoisted onto the shoulders of two men who then slogged through hundreds of feet of mud to reach the main channel.³³

The role of boats on the North Platte River drive was recalled by Peter Lepponen, a former tie inspector for the Union Pacific Railroad, when he stated that three boats were employed on the river north of the A Bar A Ranch — two bed boats and a cook boat. These boats carried camp supplies and could be used for crossing the river when necessary. The lead gangs of three or four experienced men often had their own boat, cooking outfits and tools. The rear guard was accompanied by as many as

three boats — one with sleeping gear, one with cooking gear, and one to transport men to rescue stuck ties. The cook and his "flunkies" were responsible for providing the huge meals and for setting up the night camp. Teepee tents were provided for every two men.³⁴

The men wore good wool clothing and the most expensive boots available. These had one-inch thick soles with driving caulks. The drivers promptly slit a hole in their new boots near the toe to let the water out.³⁵

In addition to the dangers inherent in driving ties in swift water, north of the town of Saratoga, Wyoming, rattlesnakes were a constant hazard. The river rat had to look under and around each stranded tie before hoisting it onto his shoulder, lest he find a rattler sharing the ride. In one such incident a large rattlesnake was seen swimming away from a tie immediately after it had been dumped into the North Platte. The drivers never knew whether it had been swimming through the area or had been inadvertently carried a 100 yards on their shoulders. For braving the hardships and dangers of a tie drive, in the 1920s workers were paid 75¢ an hour plus meals.³⁶

At Fort Steele, where the tie drive ended, the Wyoming Timber Company in 1938 amassed about 265,000 ties which were caught by a large boom stretched across the North Platte River. A continuous chain with "dogs" or spur-like projections caught and carried the ties up a ramp and along a platform past the Union Pacific tie inspectors. These inspectors checked each tie for proper

dimensions and condition. Laborers pulled the culls, which were either rejected or used on sidings where the traffic was light. In one instance, 500 ties were rejected because they had been hewn about one-quarter inch too thin. With such exacting standards, it is amazing that many tie hacks could hew a tie without using measuring devices or chalk lines.³⁷

Ties were often pulled because they still retained outer bark or in many cases still had an inner layer of bark which made treatment with preservatives difficult. Laborers would peel such ties at this point and approved ties would be loaded directly onto railroad gondolas for shipment to Laramie. Four men were assigned to each car and could load 300 to 350 ties in about 20 minutes.³⁸

The final step from tree to crosstie took place at the Laramie Tie Treatment Plant, where the tie was soaked in preservative after being scored with hundreds of small holes to aid in absorption. In relatively dry, cold climates, untreated ties may last from five to eight years, but treated ties will last from 20 to 30 years. Tie treatment thus lowers the maintenance costs of any railroad as well as conserving timber resources. Grooves were automatically cut in each tie to match the plates which held each tie to the rail. Because the plant was partially automated, it was essential that the ties be precise dimensions to fit the equipment; thus the tie inspectors imposed exacting standards.³⁹

Portrait of the Tie Hack

"If it hadn't been for the tie hack, there wouldn't have been a railroad across this country." Peter Lepponen, former tie inspector for the Union Pacific Railroad.⁴⁰

The tie hack was the central figure in the tie industry from 1867 to 1940. Rugged and individualistic, he developed a unique way of life which evolved to meet the needs of the industry. The tie hack had to live close to his work which meant adopting a high country way of life. He had to contend with deep snows for at least six months of the year, extreme temperature fluctuations of -40 degrees or lower to +40 degrees during the winter, lack of conveniences and isolation. Isolation separated the tie hack from the mainstream of Western society and may have retarded cultural assimilation and kept inherited language and customs intact well into the 20th century. Thus, while the livestock industry reigned over the open plains and the cowboy was becoming the symbol for the territory and state, the lumber industry and the tie hack ruled the mountains with a totally different high country way of life.⁴¹

The society of the tie hack was composed of several disparate nationalities but had the bonds of a common tie-making occupation and the mountain environment. Starting in the 1890s, Scandinavians dominated the Medicine Bow tie industry. Swedes and Norwegians represented the largest group, with Finns, Austrians, Germans and others in lesser numbers.⁴²

High country camps were organized according to the needs of the railroad tie industry. Cutting areas were divided into "layouts" or camps of 40 to 60 men each, with a larger centralized company headquarters and commissary. The timber bosses decided the location of the camps based on the geography of the cutting area and for efficiency in cutting and removing the ties.⁴³

Tie hacks built their own cabins, either near others in the camp area or at a distance in the surrounding timber. Cabins were built of peeled lodgepole pine using once common v-notching at the corners. The v-notched cabin, still found today in the Medicine Bow region may be characteristic of Scandinavian building traditions brought from northern Europe, since many of the tie hacks came directly to the Medicine Bow region and had no opportunity to learn new building techniques elsewhere in the United States. Many cabins exhibited handhewn inner walls. Building a tight cabin was easy for a man who made his living with double-bitted ax and broadax. Logs fitted closely and were chinked with moss, mud, or even cement, when available. Wood strips or saplings were sometimes nailed into place on the outside of the horizontal joints to hold the chinking materials in place. Stone chimneys and fireplaces were seldom built because of the impermanent nature of the tie camp, however, wooden floors were laid for additional warmth and convenience. An example of high country adaptation was the snow roof which was built on top of the existing roof to bear the weight of heavy winter snow, provide a dead air space for warmth and protect the waterproof surface below. Inside the cabin furnishings, such as chairs, tables and beds, often were hand-crafted by the occupant. Mattresses were stuffed with hay or evergreen boughs, woolen blankets took the place of sheets, and a large canvas covering on top of the bed provided extra warmth and counteracted moisture.⁴⁴

Experiences representative of many of the Wyoming tie hacks are illustrated by the account of Nels A. Moline.⁴⁵ "Andy" Moline and his family immigrated to America from northern Sweden in 1910 when Andy was four years old:

They had a pretty comfortable living. But Dad, he was a wanderer — boy, he wanted to go, and they advertised America, you know, where you could pick gold off of trees. Come to America and get rich quick. That was exactly the way the Swedish people pictured it. So he packed and sold the place, sold his cow and his horse and everything he had. And then, we come to America in a third class boat. Now I remember that and I was about four years old. I was sick — oh, oh was I seasick!

John Peter Moline brought his family directly by train to Foxpark, Wyoming, and a tie camp run by Dan Wilt and Osea Nelson of the Standard Timber Company. Andy Moline grew up in tie camps in the Medicine Bows and in southwestern Wyoming on Black's Fork and North Cottonwood Creek, northwest of Big Piney. His first job was as a cook's flunkie on a river drive at age fourteen; he

also worked as a road monkey. Schooling was a hit-and-miss proposition, gained on a seasonal basis in nearby communities or from occasional schools set up in the tie camps.

Supplies and medical help reached the camps slowly, via wagons or sleighs. In the winter of 1920, Moline's thirteen-year-old sister Christina was stricken by diphtheria. The nearest doctor delayed the tedious trip by buggy and sleigh, and she succumbed before he arrived:

By God that doctor kept puttin' it off, puttin' it off . . . He couldn't come for this, he couldn't come for that reason . . . and it was about a week, and she had diphtheria. She was choking! Now he could have saved her. He charged \$50 and all he did was come up and back after she died. I thought to myself, if I ever meet that guy, I'd wring his neck!

Moline followed his father's footsteps and became a tie hauler with his own team of horses, married and raised a family in the tie camps of Wyoming. He was known as "Moose" because of his physical size and prowess and was highly regarded by his peers.⁴⁶

Moline recalled the cuisine of the tie camps as mostly "meat and potatoes." A hack paid \$1.50 per day for all the food he could eat. The typical breakfast consisted of hot cakes, eggs, bacon or ham, oatmeal and strong coffee. Most of the meat was bought from local ranchers, however beef was often varied with wild meat such as elk and mule deer shot by the tie hacks. Cabbage and carrots were common, as were several different kinds of dried fruits, such as apples, apricots and raisins. A good camp cook adept at baking pies, rolls, cakes and bread on a wood stove was highly regarded.⁴⁷

The tie hack was not to be denied his share of beer and liquor, and his resourcefulness produced great quantities of moonshine. Oskar, one Finnish cook, brewed a vat of whiskey from 25 pounds of prunes. Late one fall, Moline's camp obtained a wagon load of frozen potatoes from which they made potato whiskey described as ". . . awful drinkin' stuff." The hacks also produced a good, heavy-bodied beer using hops, yeast, malt syrup, water and brown sugar.⁴⁸

The life of the tie hack was based on hard outdoor labor, so that physical prowess was greatly admired. Those who could hew the most ties, lift the heaviest loads, and display the greatest agility in the tie drives became the heroes and leaders of the tie hack community. Games revolved around feats of strength — wrestling and free-for-all fighting or contests displaying tie-making skills. Love of the outdoor life led to recreational pursuits such as hunting and fishing, skiing, hiking and picnicking. Other recreation included dances, which became popular as more women came to the tie camps. Music was provided by workers versatile on the violin, guitar or accordion, and their talents were in great demand.

The Finnish contingent in each camp built steam baths, a tradition brought from Finland, and used them on a regular weekly basis. The bath was followed by a romp in the snow, then a quick run to the nearest woodstove and hot towels for drying. The Finns were accustomed to both sexes using the facilities, but other women in camp shied away from the Finnish steam baths.⁴⁹

The life described by Andy Moline was one of endless, hard outdoor labor with few conveniences; a life fraught with tragedy but also simple pleasures. The excitement in his voice and the gleam in his eyes when he reminisces conveys his love for that lost way of life, the era of the tie hack, not so far removed in time, but light years away from the lifestyle of the 1980s.

The Coe and Carter Years

According to Ranger John Mullison's history for the Forest Atlas in 1909, Coe and Carter established tie camps along every driveable stream on the east side of the Snowy Range and on Douglas and South French Creeks on the west side. Mullison estimated that three million ties were cut from Medicine Bow lodgepole pines from 1867 to 1870 for the Union Pacific, in addition to approximately 75,000 cords of wood. According to Mullison, indiscriminate cutting and shoddy logging practices led to numerous forest fires which were allowed to burn themselves out, resulting



PHOTO COURTESY NELS A. MOLINE, SARATOGA

Tie hacks don suit and tie at the conclusion of the spring tie drive. Dating from the Prohibition era, this photograph proves that liquor was available in spite of that federal mandate.

in extensive erosional damage to the watershed.⁵⁰ Once the initial railroad construction phase passed, prices for ties dropped to about 50¢ for a first-class tie, and specifications increased from six by six inches to seven by seven inches. Delivered cordwood prices fell to \$6.50 per cord. When the tie industry stabilized and the day of quick and easy profits had passed, most small competitors were forced out of the business which Coe and Carter now dominated. The Coe and Carter company provided nearly all the railroad ties for Wyoming, western Nebraska and parts of Colorado.⁵¹

Coe and Carter had many diversified business interests, including freighting, with lines to Montana and Utah; bringing cattle from Texas to fatten in Nebraska and on the Laramie Plains; and raising stock, including mules, horses and oxen. Their interests gradually centered on the markets provided by the Union Pacific Railroad. They sold cattle to supply meat for railroad camps, stock for hauling operations and supplied crossties for railroad construction.⁵²

The presence of the Union Pacific guaranteed a continued market for ties and other materials from the Medicine Bow region. However, the railroad controlled its freight rates so that tie contractors found it prohibitive to ship ties to other potential markets. The Union Pacific, realizing that Medicine Bow timber was the major source of ties and the depletion of the forests would be a serious blow, therefore indirectly controlled timber cutting in the Medicine Bow region by means of the freight rates.

At this time, the timber companies were under no government regulations and used the forests in the public domain and their resources free of charge. The Commissioner of the General Land Office for the United States, however, attempted to regulate the industry in the Wyoming Territory in October 1871. Parties were required to notify the district land office and pay a tariff for cutting timber; apparently the regulations were never taken seriously by the large timber interests. In Albany County, a 16- $\frac{2}{3}$ percent tax was levied on lumber, but was dropped due to disapproval of the general public. Timber taxes remained an issue throughout the 1870s, but business appeared to continue as usual.⁵³

Coe and Carter operations in the Medicine Bow Range had camps on Rock Creek, Bow River, Brush Creek and French Creek. Ties were floated down the North Platte River to Ft. Steele.⁵⁴

A significant change in the lumber industry came in 1875 with the formation of the Rocky Mountain Coal Company, essentially a subsidiary of the Union Pacific Railroad. Coal mines were located all along the railroad right-of-way throughout Wyoming, and steam locomotives switched from wood to coal. The cordwood industry was ended, but a new business in mine props began to take its place. From 1870 to 1880, Mullison estimates that 2,500,000 ties and 400,000 mine props were cut, delivered, and sold from the Medicine Bows.⁵⁵

Coe and Carter continued to dominate the Union Pacific business by suppressing private contractors and disgruntled employees who tried to cut, drive, and deliver ties on their own. Evidently, Coe and Carter had influential political connections in Washington. One particular incident provoked a complaint to the Department of Interior in 1880. A "special agent" was dispatched to quell wildcat operations, but a reciprocal complaint was made by the independents to the same department. An agreement was reached by which Coe and Carter bought the forest lands they had logged for \$1.25 per acre. Acreage on which they had operated for ten years was bought for \$35,000.⁵⁶

The Timber and Stone Act of 1878 was used fraudulently by the early timber interests to fell and remove trees on the public domain. Initially, it was intended "... for building, agriculture, mining or other domestic purposes," since Wyoming Territory was considered a mineral district. The penalty for violating this statute was a \$500 fine and up to six months imprisonment.⁵⁷ It was customary for timber company employees to file on 160 acres at the request of the company. This land was then used by the company for logging purposes, and the dutiful employee was rewarded with a payment of \$100.⁵⁸

Coe and Carter owned large blocks of timber near today's Bow River Campground and the Turpin Reservoir area. One of the foremen was Frank Barclay, whose headquarters appears on 1888 General Land Office plat maps at the approximate location of the Bow River Campground.⁵⁹ During the spring of 1883, Barclay drove 104,000 ties down the Medicine Bow River.⁶⁰

In 1884, Coe and Carter was dissolved. The senior member's son assumed control under the firm name of Coe and Coe and continued operations on the Medicine Bow River and Rock Creek from 1880 to 1890. Mullison indicated that the amount of material driven and sold far exceeded the quantity they could have cut on their own holdings.⁶¹

The decade 1880 to 1890 witnessed a substantial decrease in demand for ties due to internal problems within the Union Pacific Railroad, however, the 1890s were even more uncertain for the tie industry. The Union Pacific Railroad was in receivership from 1893 to 1897, never having paid its original construction costs or debts to the federal government.⁶² In the spring of 1895, the Union Pacific cancelled all of its tie contracts, forcing Coe and Coe to suspend many of its operations. The company became active in the Uintah Mountains in Utah during the 1890s, and gradually relinquished its dominance of the Medicine Bow region.⁶³

The last reference to Coe and Coe in this area involved a timber trespass case against Frank E. Coe. The Forest Service claimed that he had unlawfully cut ties in the French Creek area from 1900 to 1903. The final disposition of the case is not known, but it shows that Coe and Coe was still active in the Medicine Bow region as late as 1903.⁶⁴

The Formation of the Medicine Bow National Forest

The forested areas of southeastern Wyoming provided free timber for the logging interests for nearly three decades prior to the formation of the Medicine Bow National Forest. The timber companies' exploited these free resources to the point where citizens of forested regions around Laramie petitioned President McKinley in 1899 to set aside the Medicine Bow area forests as a reserve, citing the "wholesale stealing of timber by the companies." The result of the petition was to have been the creation of the Medicine Bow Forest Reserve by the Secretary of the Interior, but apparently powerful timber interests delayed the action.⁶⁵

The Crow Creek Forest Reserve in the Laramie Range was established in 1900 by President McKinley, although very little saleable timber remained in that region. On May 22, 1902, the Medicine Bow Forest Reserve was established. The original boundaries encompassed about two million acres of the Medicine Bow or Snowy Range. The east and west boundaries approximated those of the present forest area, and the southern boundary extended south into Colorado to the area of Estes Park.⁶⁶

Soon after the formation of the Medicine Bow National Forest, timber cutting was regulated and government sales were initiated. Gradually, master plans were developed for cutting order in various regions of the Forest. First, maps, timber estimates, reports and stumpage appraisals were made, then the sale was advertised at the appraisal value for bidding. No bids were accepted below this value. The successful bidder made a contract with the Forest Service which outlined the conditions of cutting and scaling, classes of timber to be manufactured, stumpage prices, plan for logging and brush disposal. Exact boundaries were marked, and specific trees were designated for cutting by Forest Service personnel. The tree was blazed with a "U.S." at breast height and also near the base to control the cutting of unmarked trees. Stumps were not to be more than twelve inches high, a restriction that demanded a good deal of snow removal around the tree by the tie hack. Full utilization of the trees was urged. Unused brush from limbs and tops was to be piled up and burned when there was sufficient snow cover to reduce fire hazard. Ties, props, and saw logs were scaled or counted by rangers at the landings and checked against deposits or funds of operators made before cutting. In addition, the actual logging practices were often monitored by forest rangers.⁶⁷

The Carbon Timber Company

When the Union Pacific Railroad cancelled all its tie contracts in the spring of 1895, a large number of timber men were left unemployed. Two enterprising businessmen reasoned that the railroad would eventually require more ties. Butcher Charles L. Vagner and banker Louis R.

Meyer, both from Carbon, offered to supply lumbermen and provide the money for land entries under the Timber and Stone Act. In return, the men would cut ties and props and prepare them for the 1896 drive in anticipation of the railroads.⁶⁸

The partnership cut ties and props from camps established on the Medicine Bow River and Rock Creek. In 1900, the company, incorporated as the successor to the partnership, was capitalized at one million dollars, chiefly in owned timberlands. The principal stockholders were the McGrews of Omaha, closely associated with the Union Pacific Railroad and R. D. Meyer of Hanna, who took over his father's interest in the company as a large stockholder. Andrew Olson, "White Andy," was a valued employee of the company, acting as supervisor of wood operations and later serving as its president. In 1914, R. D. Meyer was secretary and the younger McGrew was the general manager at Ft. Steele.⁶⁹ Sam Thompson, a Norwegian who had Americanized his name from Sern Thomasson Skjorland, was timber boss at Hog Park, Elk Mountain, Keystone, and Devil's Gate until the company's demise.⁷⁰

The company's large operation at Ft. Steele included a box factory, sawmill, tie loading plant, main boom, and company store. A company town mushroomed around these facilities, utilizing 497 acres. There was also a sawmill plant, company store and lumber camp south of Encampment at Hog Park, and sawmill and loading plant at Medicine Bow. By 1914 the company owned a total of 26,939 acres of timber land.⁷¹

The Carbon Timber Company's prime years were from 1900 to 1906. Because of its close relationship with the Union Pacific Railroad, "it virtually controlled the Union Pacific's tie supply between Cheyenne and Odgen." Wooden doors for coal and grain cars were manufactured at Ft. Steele and sold for 35¢ each. In one year alone, 60,000 doors were purchased by Union Pacific. Because the Union Pacific Coal Company was closely associated with the railroad, all orders for mine props were given to the Carbon Timber Company.⁷²

In 1906, Carbon Timber Company negotiated two contracts with the young Medicine Bow National Forest management. This represented the first two large timber sales within the forest. The May 2, sale was located on the headwaters of Douglas Creek near Keystone, and the October 18, sale was located on French Creek. The May 2, sale was ultimately cancelled in 1908 due to poor management by the company. The Carbon Timber Company had the same problems with the October 18 sale, and the Forest Service finally allowed the company to back out of the second sale as well.⁷³

In September, 1907, the Carbon Timber Company was involved in a timber trespass case resulting from cutting beyond its rightful boundaries. A settlement of \$80,000 was reached, half in costs and half in labor on a telephone line and wagon road.⁷⁴

The Carbon Timber Company absorbed the operations of J. C. Teller, who had cut timber from camps on Pass Creek, North and South Brush Creeks, and North French Creek from 1899 to 1902. Teller delivered ties to the Union Pacific Railroad and was involved in the most famous timber trespass case in Wyoming. Although John C. Teller, a nephew of Colorado Senator Henry M. Teller, had been involved in numerous federal suits he always managed to escape settlement. Finally Teller was forced to pay the government \$27,440 in May, 1912.⁷⁵

The Carbon Timber Company also had large operations in the Sierra Madres, soon to become Hayden National Forest. It had been logging on Encampment Creek in 1902 with a large camp of almost 500 men. By the following spring it had 500,000 ties ready to drive to the North Platte River and on to Ft. Steele.⁷⁶

The *Grand Encampment Herald* regularly featured news of developments at Hog Park because that town benefitted directly from the logging operations. In 1902, the camp was described by a reporter for the paper:

The tie camp headquarters occupies a very pretty spot in a park called Encampment Meadows, about twenty miles south of Grand Encampment, bordering on the Colorado state line.

The establishment of the tie camp adds much to the development of the country. About 300 men will be employed and most of them are men who have not previously resided in the vicinity of Grand Encampment. This will be a handsome addition to the population of southern Carbon Co. Grand Encampment will be the base of supplies for the tie camp, adding commercially to the interests of this place, and the new wagon road built to the camp opens a new mining country which will also be tributary to Grand Encampment.⁷⁷

The newspaper continued to praise the timber company and its contributions to the greater community until December 8, 1911, when it announced that the Hog Park tie camp would be abandoned the following spring after the tie drive. The paper stated that government regulations prevented the company from operating at a profit: "The present policy is to let it stand for future generations or be consumed by forest fire, rather than let it be used to aid in the present prosperity and development of the country . . . your Uncle Sam has written 'finis' to this industry . . ."⁷⁸

The Carbon Timber Company continued limited operations in the Sierra Madres until 1915.⁷⁹ The gradual decline of the company was precipitated by a number of factors. The Forest Service's stricter regulation of timber cutting in addition to stumpage fees had an immediate adverse effect on the company's economy, and ended virtually free use of public resources. Harry B. Henderson, who appraised the worth of the Carbon Timber Company in 1914, stated that in his opinion the timber company's tie business was a losing operation.⁸⁰

Furthermore, the company fell out of favor with the Union Pacific Railroad and lost its preferred mine timber and car door business. Then, in 1909 and 1910, a large number of ties were rejected by railroad inspectors. The

company had attempted to keep the price of ties at 65¢ to 66¢ apiece, but in 1910 Dan Wilt, a former company timber boss, attempted to deliver ties for a lower price by forming his own concern, the Standard Timber Company. As a result, by 1913, the Carbon Timber Company had almost no business from the Union Pacific. Although it was able to make amends with the Union Pacific and receive part of the business that fall, it never again held a monopoly on the tie industry.⁸¹

In 1915, the continued financial difficulties of the Carbon Timber Company resulted in the formation of a new concern. The bondholders foreclosed on its properties which were sold at a sheriff's sale for \$366,168.67. The same bondholders were the purchasers, who then formed the Wyoming Timber Company in November, 1916. The Wyoming Timber Company was, in reality, a re-organization of the Carbon Timber Company. Michael Quealy of Elk Mountain owned the Quealy Livestock Company and P. J. Quealy of Kemmerer owned the Kemmerer Coal Company. They were the key financial backers in the new corporation. C. D. Williamson was the general manager and treasurer. Notable figures of the old Carbon Timber Company, such as Andrew Olson and Sam Thompson, became employees of the new company.⁸² In 1933, P. J. Quealy died, and C. D. Williamson became the dominant force and president of the Wyoming Timber Company. This concern represented the major timber interest in the Medicine Bow region until 1951.⁸³

Epidemic!

Perhaps the most tragic chapter in the history of the Wyoming Timber Company was caused by a worldwide epidemic from which the isolated tie camps of the Medicine Bow region were not immune. During the Christmas season of 1918, a serious influenza epidemic broke out in four Wyoming Timber Company tie camps near South French Creek. The camps, known as Headquarters, Sourdough, Camp Four, and Hans Glad, were all within $\frac{3}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles of one another. This undoubtedly aided in the spread of the disease.⁸⁴

The report of Ranger Cyril B. Webster details the chain of events at French Creek. Miss Marie Glad arrived from Elk Mountain on December 21, to visit her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Hans Glad, at the Hans Glad camp. A dance was held on December 22, and by the morning of December 23, the entire family was sick with "severe colds." No one from the other three camps attended the dance. A second contributing factor was the return of Ole Wolden, woods foreman, on December 24, from a trip to company headquarters in Hanna. He had passed through Rawlins where influenza was rampant at the time.⁸⁵

It is probable that the flu was brought in from an outside community by one or both of the above mentioned sources, since the tie camps were isolated, especially in winter. Large quantities of liquor and wine were brought in on December 24 for the Christmas celebrations. On



WILLIAM WROTEN COLLECTION, AMERICAN HERITAGE CENTER

Skidding ties to a landing, 1921.

Christmas eve and Christmas day, there was a good deal of intermingling among the four camps as the festivities continued. A contributing factor in the severity of the epidemic may have been the heavy holiday drinking, for which the tie hacks were notorious. Many victims probably attributed early flu symptoms to the effects of alcohol.⁸⁶

Axel Axelsson, the first fatality, had been alone in a hand banking camp for two days, but had previously been in contact with people from the Hans Glad camp. By Christmas morning he was sick, and during the early morning hours of December 31, he died. The same day he became ill, he was to have been married in Denver to Mrs. Freda Benson. A telegram from Ranger Louis Coughlin informed her of his death. Mrs. Benson told Coughlin that Axelsson had no relatives in America.⁸⁷ Seeking his fortune in America, Axelsson died in a snowbound cabin in the Wyoming mountains far from home without the comfort of loved ones.

Ole Wolden fell ill on Christmas night, and by December 27, nearly everyone in all the camps was stricken. Rangers Webster and Bunnell and a Mrs. Purdy were the only healthy people at Camp Four.⁸⁸

Help arrived that day when Dr. Irwin came from Saratoga and injected all victims with an influenza anti-toxin, although it was already too late for some. Digitalis, strychnine and cough medicine were left by the doctor to be administered by Webster, Bunnell, and Mrs. Purdy. A total of 30 cases were observed by the doctor during his first visit to the camps. By his second visit on December 30, the condition of many of the victims had deteriorated.

He left the next morning, even though Axelsson had died and the few remaining healthy people were exhausted from caring for the ill. The doctor did not return until the afternoon of January 1. That same evening, Mrs. Andrew Pearson and Fritz Carlson died. On January 2, James Praig, a man named Dolman, Ole Wolden, and Mr. Purdy died. In his report, Webster stated that Praig “. . . expressed the desire to die and helped himself along by refusing medicine and crawling out from under the covers. A fire was kept in the stove against his will. He was apparently perfectly sane to the last, and realized what he was doing.”⁸⁹

Andy Moline recalled that survivors of the epidemic at French Creek told him that as death claimed the flu victims, their corpses were taken out to a woodshed where they were stacked like cordwood and quickly became frozen.⁹⁰ On January 3, Andrew Pearson died. That day the frozen bodies were piled on tie-racks and hauled to Sanger's Ranch and then to Encampment. The last fatality was Frank Sundcrift who died in the afternoon of the same day.⁹¹

In four camps, 36 out of a population of 46 were stricken with influenza, and of these, nine had succumbed. During the crisis, temperatures had averaged 15 degrees below zero.⁹² Later, Dr. Bogard and three nurses came from Laramie and tended the remaining ill at these camps as well as at Spring Creek tie camp where nine cases had been reported.⁹³ At least one fatality, Eric Bowman, was reported at Spring Creek, and possibly one other, judging from the tone of the newspaper account.⁹⁴ Another

tie hack named Sandquist died at Keystone on January 6. The outbreak then subsided, and no other deaths were reported after January 7.⁹⁵

Scapegoats were sought for the French Creek tragedy, including Dr. Irwin of Saratoga and the Wyoming Timber Company. Apparently Dr. Irwin's initial reports to the company had suggested that the outbreak was not serious and therefore, the company was lax in bringing its resources to bear in fighting the epidemic. Acting forest supervisor Coughlin became disgusted with C. D. Williamson, suggesting that P. J. Quealy of Kemmerer be notified ". . . since the local representatives of the Wyoming Timber Company seem to be either helpless or useless."⁹⁶

The strain of the ordeal at French Creek is indicated by Ranger Webster's request for transfer to California as soon as the epidemic was past and his services were no longer required.⁹⁷ Certainly Rangers Webster and Bunnell of the U.S. Forest Service performed above and beyond the call of duty in caring for the sick with very little outside help, especially from the Wyoming Timber Company which should have been responsible for its own employees. Today their names are all but forgotten, as is the terrible epidemic of 1918.

The End of an Era

The Medicine Bow tie industry was alive and well after the decline of the Carbon Timber Company, despite periodic economic fluctuations. A number of smaller, independent tie companies evolved with varying degrees of success. In 1913, the Union Pacific Railroad attempted to obtain its ties from west coast sawed Douglas fir, but because the west coast companies could not meet the large demands, Otto Gramm of Laramie received a contract and subsequently organized the Foxpark Lumber Company. Dan Wilt's Standard Timber Company was also centered around Foxpark. Both men took advantage of the recently constructed Laramie, Hahn's Peak, and Pacific Railroad. Ties could be loaded and hauled by rail to Laramie, where they were treated at the creosote plant which had been built in 1902. The railroad helped new companies get started in the southern portion of the Medicine Bow, and the timber companies saved the railroad from bankruptcy.⁹⁸

On January 7, 1914, the Forest Service offered for sale all the timber adjacent to the railroad line from the Colorado state line to Foxpark. The timber area was divided into blocks and over a period of years was sold to Osea Nelson of the Union Timber Company, Dan Wilt of the Standard Timber Company, and the Bergstrom Brothers of the Laramie Timber Company.⁹⁹

In 1915, the town of Gramm grew up around a large sawmill along the railroad line south of Foxpark. Most timber cutting operations at this time were located in this area. George Duthie, Forest Supervisor, described the workers and conditions at this time:

A shortage of labor was at times a serious problem for the operators. Many of the tie cutters were 'floaters' recruited

in Denver. In order to keep the men in camp in those days before radio and television, it was necessary to provide some amusement. Therefore, a poolhall was permitted to open in Gramm. Another already existed at Foxpark. The men for the most part were a rugged lot and on several occasions the supervisor was faced with the problem of keeping bootleggers, gamblers, and other purveyors of illicit sport out of the camps. It took rugged men to buck ties in deep snow. There was a singular lack of labor-saving devices such as we expect to find on similar operations today. For example, a crew of husky tie loaders worked in a rotating line. As the inspector marked each tie, which weighed from 150 to 250 pounds, a 'loader' shouldered the tie and staggered up a ramp into the railroad car.¹⁰⁰

The Douglas Creek Tie Camp Company at Albany, Wyoming, was actually a working subsidiary of the Wyoming Timber Company, which guaranteed their timber sales contracts. Hans Olson, Charles Engstrom, and Victor Strandquist incorporated for the January 5, 1917, timber sale on the Medicine Bow. Approximately 51,000 ties were cut from this sale.¹⁰¹

The early 1920s saw a gradual change in the lumber industry with the development of gasoline and diesel powered portable sawmills and a better road system in the Medicine Bow Forest. With better roads, portable units could be hauled by tractor to timber areas, and ties could be economically sawed instead of handhewn. This development signaled the end of the tie hack era. One forest official prophetically queried, "Is the time approaching when the picturesque tie hack with his broadax will be replaced by a sawmill on wheels?"¹⁰²

A record number of railroad ties, mine props and lumber were cut in 1925, making it one of the biggest log-



A tie flume in operation.

WILLIAM WROTEN COLLECTION, AMERICAN HERITAGE CENTER

ging years for the Medicine Bow National Forest.¹⁰³ Major companies participating in this bonanza were the Wyoming Timber Company, Stroud and Sheppard, and Otto Gramm Lumber Company. The latter was organized by Otto Gramm founder of the Foxpark Timber Company, Andrew Olson, formerly of the Carbon Timber Company, and Hans and Ivor Olson, Andrew's brothers. Their first sale was in the Squaw and Lake Creek units north of Foxpark; however, they soon transferred operations to the Laramie River watershed in Colorado.¹⁰⁴

Louis Coughlin, ranger and historian, estimates that during the boom year of 1925, a total of 44,810,000 measured board feet of lumber with a value of \$1,183,240 were cut and delivered at Laramie, Wyoming. About 500 men participated in the lumber operations that year, and the Laramie tie treatment plant supported a working force of 92 men and a payroll of \$139,520.¹⁰⁵

The Wyoming Timber Company, headquartered in Hanna, Wyoming, was cutting on Keystone and Horse Creeks in the Medicine Bow National Forest in 1926.¹⁰⁶ Its large camp at Keystone was described in a local newspaper in April 1928:

The logging camp of the Wyoming Timber Company at the Holmes, Wyoming post office, locally called Keystone is an innovation as logging camps go in this part of Wyoming. It is located on Douglas Creek at the mouth of Keystone Creek. A sawmill also is located at the camp. A dozen buildings including the commissary, cookhouse, bunkhouse for the bachelors, 2-room cabins for married men, and several barns, are scattered throughout the timber. Each cabin or barn and the sawmill as well, are equipped with electric lights. Kerosene lanterns and gasoline lamps have been banished from the camp. The tie hacks and lumber jacks from neighboring logging camps look with envy upon the Keystone camp and its 'city lights.'¹⁰⁷

The company, also cutting along Muddy Creek, had a camp known as "Camp No. 2" along this stream and another on Indian Creek, a small tributary. Ties cut in this area were driven down these tributaries to Douglas Creek, where a large boom was in place and a dam was built to flood the flats.¹⁰⁸

In 1934, the largest single timber sale to date on the Medicine Bow was awarded to the Wyoming Timber Company. The sale involved 18,000 acres on the Douglas Creek unit near Keystone. As many as 200 men were employed.¹⁰⁹

According to Louis Coughlin, the first timber sale where motor vehicles were used extensively was in February 1924, on the Hayden Division of the Medicine Bow National Forest by the firm of Daniels and Helmick. Another firm, Stroud and Sheppard, used trucks to haul material from Dutton Creek to Rock River, a distance of 25 miles.¹¹⁰ Subsequently, the logging industry began hauling logs to permanent, fixed milling plants. Roads and trucks steadily improved, and in 1937, R.R. Crow and Company hauled logs from Barrett Creek to their mill in Saratoga.¹¹¹

During the transition period between horse-drawn sleds and motorized vehicles, the tie hack was still active

and the large tie drives continued each spring. As late as 1938, the Wyoming Timber Company drove 300,000 ties down Douglas Creek to Fort Steele. In addition, some 350,000 ties were driven down the Laramie River from northern Colorado to Laramie, Wyoming, by the Foxpark Timber Company and the Otto Timber Company. The latter drive was considered one of the largest in history.¹¹²

The end of an era came in 1940, when the Union Pacific Railroad entirely discontinued the use of hand-hewn, river-driven ties.¹¹³ Such ties often became badly checked on each end, and were known as broomed ties. This made them prone to moisture and decay. The more uniform sawn ties were easier to lay and replace and presented a better bearing surface. The last tie drive in the Medicine Bow region was in the spring of 1940, on Douglas Creek by the Wyoming Timber Company. C. D. Williamson, company president, was quoted in the *Saratoga Sun*:

It is quite certain there will be no drive next year, and there is some doubt if there will ever be another drive . . . The railroad has indicated it does not want any more river-driven ties. The officials claim that the sand and grit carried by river-driven ties interfere with the machinery at the tie plant.¹¹⁴

As a result of the decline of the tie industry, emphasis in the lumber industry shifted from railroad ties to lumber and studs. By 1967, only ten percent of the Medicine Bow National Forest products were composed of railroad ties.¹¹⁵

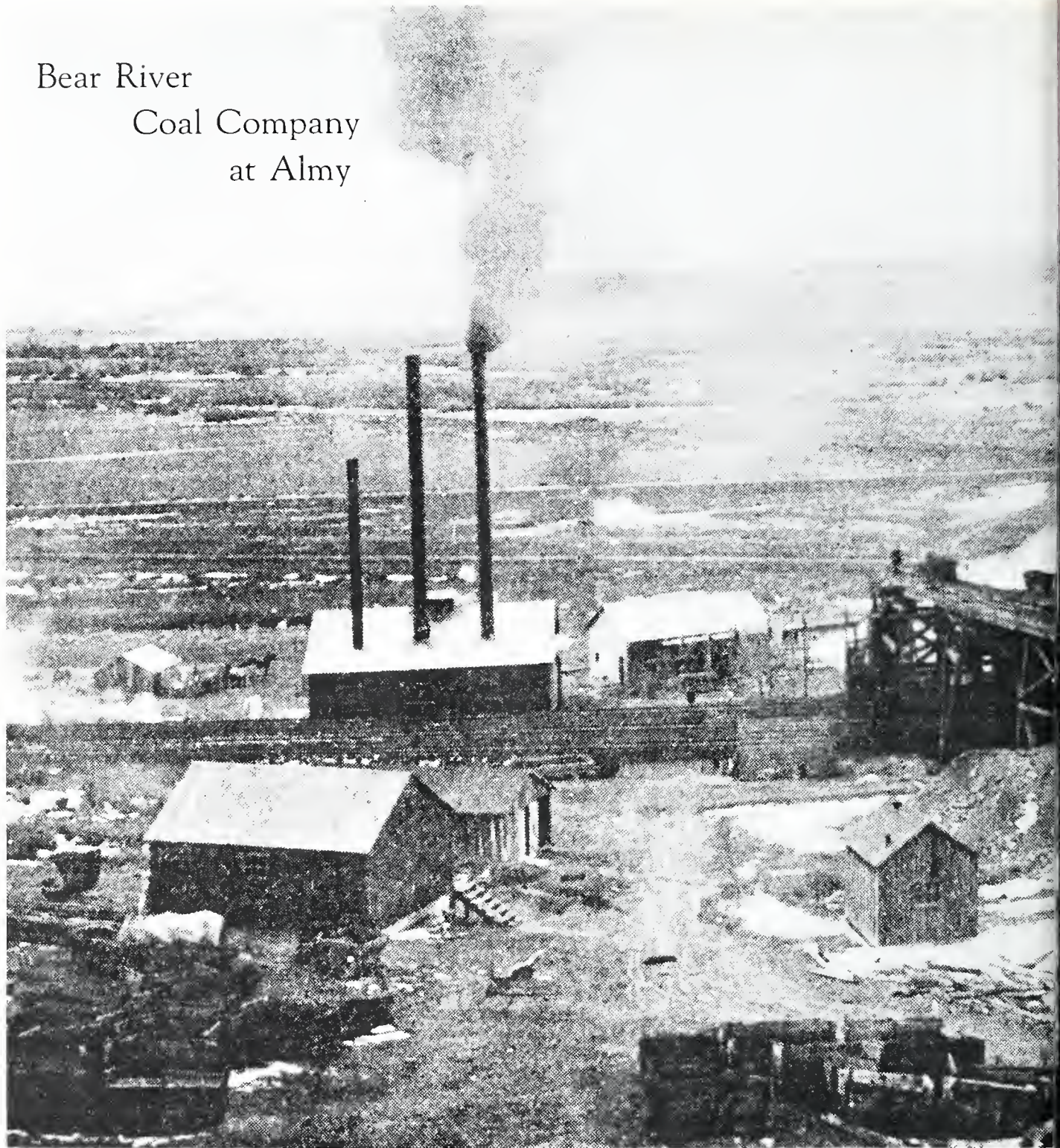
Conclusion

Few skilled occupations become obsolete virtually overnight as did the making of handhewn railroad ties. Based on one market, the Medicine Bow tie industry was always tenuous, experiencing the boom and bust cycle typically associated with hard-rock mining. After 1940, some of the displaced tie hacks and haulers found work in the sawed-tie industry or moved north to the Wind River country in Wyoming, where some railroad ties were still being hewn and river-driven up until 1946. Other workers found laboring jobs in logging-related activities in the forested mountains just to get by, but it was never the same. The legendary broadax, pike pole and pickaroon were laid aside to become reminders of a bygone era. The ring of the broadax, jingle of bells on the big horse teams and the hardy laughter of the Scandinavian hacks were gone. The skills of the father were useless to the son in the age of machines, and the high country fell silent in winter. The enormous spring drives when 300,000 ties choked Douglas Creek, the Hog Park tie camp, home to over 500 men, the Fort Steele tie plant with its great boom and chain — all became memories. The great timber companies such as Coe and Carter, Carbon Timber Company, and the Wyoming Timber Company are seldom spoken of today and remembered by only a few. Engines of the Union Pacific still roll across the wide prairies of Wyoming, but their rails are set on sawed ties cut from Douglas fir trees grown far to the west.

1. Lola M. Homsher, "The History of Albany County, Wyoming to 1880," (Master's thesis, University of Wyoming, 1949), pp. 30-31.
2. William H. Wroten, Jr., "The Railroad Tie Industry in the Central Rocky Mountain Region: 1867-1900," (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Department of History, University of Colorado, Boulder, 1956), p. 12.
3. John Bratt, *Trails of Yesterday* (Lincoln: University Publishing Company, 1921), p. 162; and Homsher, pp. 57-58.
4. Ansel Watrous, *History of Larimer County, Colorado* (Ft. Collins: Courier Printing and Publishing Co., 1911), p. 163; and *Wyoming State Tribune*, June 4, 1944.
5. Wroten, pp. 12, 27.
6. Bratt, p. 162.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137, 153-154; in June 1868, Gilman and Carter took a contract to cut ties for the construction of the Denver Pacific Railway from Cheyenne to Denver. The ties were cut on the headwaters of the Cache La Poudre River in Colorado and driven downstream to the prairie. The Gilman faction did not believe the venture would prove profitable and attempted to withdraw from the agreement. Coe and Carter assumed the entire contract which, in the end, netted \$50,000.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
9. Homsher, pp. 58-59.
10. *Laramie Daily Sentinel*, October 31, 1872.
11. *Ibid.*, June 29, 1872.
12. *Cheyenne Weekly Leader*, August 12, 1876, quoted in Wroten, p. 133.
13. Wroten, pp. 49, 130-131.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 116; and *Laramie Weekly Sentinel*, July 6, 1878.
15. Nelson C. Brown, *Forest Products* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1950), pp. 73, 75-76.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
17. Nels A. Moline, personal communication, Saratoga, Wyoming, April 5, 1982; and *Rawlins Daily Times*, August 17, 1974.
18. George B. Linn, "The Tie Drivers of the Twenties," *In Wyoming* (April/May), 1973.
19. Moline; and Peter Lepponen, personal communication, Walden, Colorado, June 6, 1982.
20. Moline.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Brown, p. 12; and Moline; and Joan T. Pinkerton, *Knights of the Broadax* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1981), p. 19. The U.S. Department of Agriculture conducted a study in 1915, which revealed that the time expended per tie, including all the steps described, averaged 22.3 minutes. A tie hack could therefore produce 21.5 ties in an eight hour day. D. T. Mason, "Utilization and Management of Lodgepole Pine in the Rocky Mountains," *U.S. Department of Agriculture Bulletin No. 234* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), p. 11.
23. Homsher, p. 8.
24. Interview with Louis Sederlin by Ranger Bruce Torgny, February 20, 1935, Box 8, Medicine Bow National Forest Collection, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming. Hereafter cited as the "MBNF" Coll.
25. *Grand Encampment Herald*, July 1, 1940; and Harry B. Henderson, "In the Matter of the Appraisal of the Property of the Carbon Timber Company, etc.," 1914. Wyoming Timber Company Collection, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.
26. Scrapbook Press Clippings, n.d., MBNF Coll. At least five scrapbooks are included in this collection; however, many of the clippings bear no date or name of newspaper.
27. Moline.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. Letter from J. S. Veeder, Forest Supervisor to Regional Forester, Denver, May 20, 1938, Box 8, MBNF Coll.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Grand Encampment Herald*, June 9, 1905.
33. Moline; and Lepponen; and J. S. Veeder letter, MBNF Coll.
34. Lepponen.
35. Sublette County Artists' Guild, *Tales of the Seeds-Ke-Dee* (Denver: Big Mountain Press, 1963), pp. 260-261; and Lepponen.
36. Lepponen.
37. *Ibid.*; and J. S. Veeder letter, MBNF Coll.; and Moline.
38. Lepponen.
39. Brown, pp. 72-73.
40. Lepponen.
41. The term "high country way of life" was used by Scott Thybony to describe aboriginal peoples in the Medicine Bow region. See Scott Thybony and Robert G. and Elizabeth L. Rosenberg, "Class I Cultural Resource Overview of the Medicine Bow National Forest" (Report on file, Medicine Bow National Forest, Laramie, 1982), p. 59.
42. Wroten, p. 212; Moline; and Lepponen.
43. Moline.
44. *Ibid.*
45. The following discussion is taken from a taped interview with Nels Moline unless otherwise noted.
46. Bill Aho, personal communication, former sawmill operator, Pinedale, Wyoming, July 28, 1982.
47. Moline; and Wroten, p. 12; and Linn, "Tie Drivers of the Twenties."
48. Sublette County Artists' Guild, *Tales of the Seeds-Ke-Dee*, p. 258.
49. Moline; and Lepponen; and Wroten, pp. 232-234.
50. Harry Mullison, "History of the Medicine Bow National Forest," 1909, pp. 43-44, Box 8, MBNF Coll.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.
52. Bratt, p. 164; and Wroten, pp. 23-24.
53. Homsher, pp. 60-62.
54. Mullison, p. 46.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.
57. *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 1877-1879, pp. 88-89.
58. Mullison, p. 51.
59. Louis E. Coughlin's Historical Notes, 1951, Timber Management, Box 8, MBNF Coll. Ranger Coughlin, "dean of the forest rangers" in the Rocky Mountain region, worked for the U.S. Forest Service for over 45 years starting in 1908. He was the unofficial historian for the Medicine Bow National Forest and collected memos, letters, old reports and personal interviews throughout his tenure which he hoped to develop into a history of Medicine Bow for its 50th anniversary in 1952. However he was forced to retire before the project could be completed. He died in Laramie in 1962.
60. *Ft. Collins Courier*, May 10, 1883.
61. Mullison, pp. 51, 53.
62. James L. Ehernberger and Francis G. Gschwind, *Sherman Hill* (Callaway, Nebraska: E and G Publications, 1973), pp. 27-29.
63. Wroten, p. 59.
64. Coughlin's Notes, February 9, 1951, pp. 8-11, Timber Trespass, Box 8, MBNF Coll.
65. Wroten, p. 204.
66. Robert K. Bruce, "History of the Medicine Bow National Forest, 1902-1910," (Master's thesis, University of Wyoming, 1959), p. 1. In 1908, the Forest was divided. The Colorado section was named the Medicine Bow Forest; the Wyoming section, including Crow Creek Reserve was named the Cheyenne National Forest. Two years later, the Colorado portion became known as the Colorado National Forest. This land represents about two-fifths of the Medicine Bow National Forest today. The Hayden Division of the

- Medicine Bow National Forest was originally set aside as the Sierra Madre Forest Reserve on November 5, 1906. Two years later, the Sierra Madre Reserve and portions of the Park Range Forest Reserve (now part of the Routt National Forest in Colorado) were combined to form the Hayden National Forest. On August 2, 1929, President Hoover dismantled the Hayden National Forest. The Colorado portion was added to Routt National Forest, the Wyoming portion was added to the Medicine Bow National Forest as the Hayden Division. Coughlin's Notes, Box 30, MBNF Coll.
67. U.S. Forest Service, "Forestry Practiced on the Medicine Bow National Forest in Wyoming," n.d., Box 30, MBNF Coll.
 68. Paul L. Armstrong, "History of the Medicine Bow National Forest Service," Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department, Historical Research and Publications Division, Cheyenne.
 69. J. H. Potts, "Data Concerning Carbon Timber Company, Its Investments and Operations," 1914, Box 30, MBNF Coll.
 70. "History of Wyoming Timber Operations Told," *The Daily Times*, Rawlins, August 17, 1914, Lumber-Tie Industry-Wyoming (L97-ti-wy), American Heritage Center.
 71. Potts, "Data Concerning Carbon Timber Company"; and Harry B. Henderson, "In the Matter of the Appraisal of the Property of the Carbon Timber Company, etc.," 1914, Wyoming Timber Company Collection, American Heritage Center.
 72. J. H. Potts, "Memorandum Covering the Past History, Present Organization and Status and Probable Future of the Carbon Timber Co., November 7, 1914," Timber Management, Box 9, MBNF Coll.
 73. Bruce, pp. 68-69, 72. According to Chief District Inspector Smith Riley, the company was losing money on the sale because of: 1) lack of supervision in the woods; 2) cutting unmarked trees (which resulted in the paying of trespass fines); 3) careless stacking on banking grounds (slowing spring drives); 4) unthorough cutting of areas (meaning the company had to go back to comply with the contract); 5) lack of supervision and use of improper tools in driving operations.
 74. Coughlin's Notes, February 9, 1951, Timber Trespass, Box 8, MBNF Coll.
 75. *Ibid.*
 76. James Blackhall, "History of the Hayden National Forest," July 20, 1915, p. 1, Box 4, MBNF Coll.
 77. *Grand Encampment Herald*, August 22, 1902.
 78. *Ibid.*, December 8, 1911.
 79. Blackhall, pp. 2-3.
 80. Henderson, "In the Matter of Appraisal," p. 6. According to company figures, the following costs were involved in bringing one finished tie to market:
- | | |
|---------------------|-----------|
| chopping | 15 cents |
| banking | 10 |
| driving | 9 |
| stumpage | 11 |
| brush and piling | 3 |
| yardage and loading | <u>3½</u> |
| | 51½ cents |
- Forest Service stumpage fees and cleanup procedures (brush and piling) cost about fourteen cents for every finished tie.
81. Potts, "Memorandum Covering Carbon Timber Co."
 82. *Rawlins Republican-Bulletin*, May 2, 1939; and E. B. Tanna Memo, December 28, 1916, included in Coughlin's Notes, Box 8, MBNF Coll.
 83. *Laramie Republican-Boomerang*, December 10, 1951.
 84. "Ranger's Report on the Attack of Influenza in the French Creek Tie Camps of the Wyoming Timber Company, December 21, 1918 to January 21, 1919," p. 4, included in Coughlin's Historical Notes, February 27, 1951, Box 8, MBNF Coll.
 85. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
 86. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.
 87. Louis E. Coughlin, "Influenza Epidemic 1918-19, Tragedy at the French Creek Tie Camp," memorandum for files, January 1-3, 1919, in Coughlin's Historical Notes, February 27, 1951, Box 8, MBNF Coll.
 88. "Ranger's Report," pp. 5-6.
 89. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
 90. Moline.
 91. "Ranger's Report," p. 7.
 92. *Ibid.*
 93. Coughlin, "Influenza Epidemic."
 94. *Laramie Republican*, January 7, 1919.
 95. *Ibid.*, January 6, 1919.
 96. Coughlin, "Influenza Epidemic."
 97. *Ibid.*
 98. George A. Duthie, "The Medicine Bow National Forest, 1913-1916," pp. 4-6, Box 4, MBNF Coll.
 99. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.
 100. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.
 101. Coughlin's Historical Notes, 1951, Timber Sales, Box 8, MBNF Coll.
 102. U.S. Forest Service, "Washington Bulletin," 1923, Box 30, MBNF Coll.
 103. *Rock River Review*, July 1, 1926.
 104. Coughlin's Notes, Timber Sales.
 105. *Ibid.*
 106. *Rawlins Reporter*, October 30, 1926.
 107. Scrapbook Press Clippings, 1927-1934 scrapbook, MBNF Coll.
 108. *Laramie Republican-Boomerang*, May 8, 1927.
 109. Armstrong, p. 8.
 110. Coughlin's Historical Notes, June 23, 1952, Box 30, MBNF Coll.
 111. *Ibid.*
 112. *Encampment Echo*, May 26, 1938.
 113. Coughlin's Notes, June 23, 1952.
 114. *Saratoga Sun*, May 9, 1940, in File No. 1408, WPA Collection, Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department, Historical Research and Publications Division, Cheyenne.
 115. U.S. Forest Service, letter, October 31, 1967, Box 8, MBNF Coll.

Bear River
Coal Company
at Almy



COAL MINE EXPLOSIONS AT ALMY, WYOM.
THEIR INFLUENCE ON WYOMING'S FIRST CO.

by Walter R. Jones

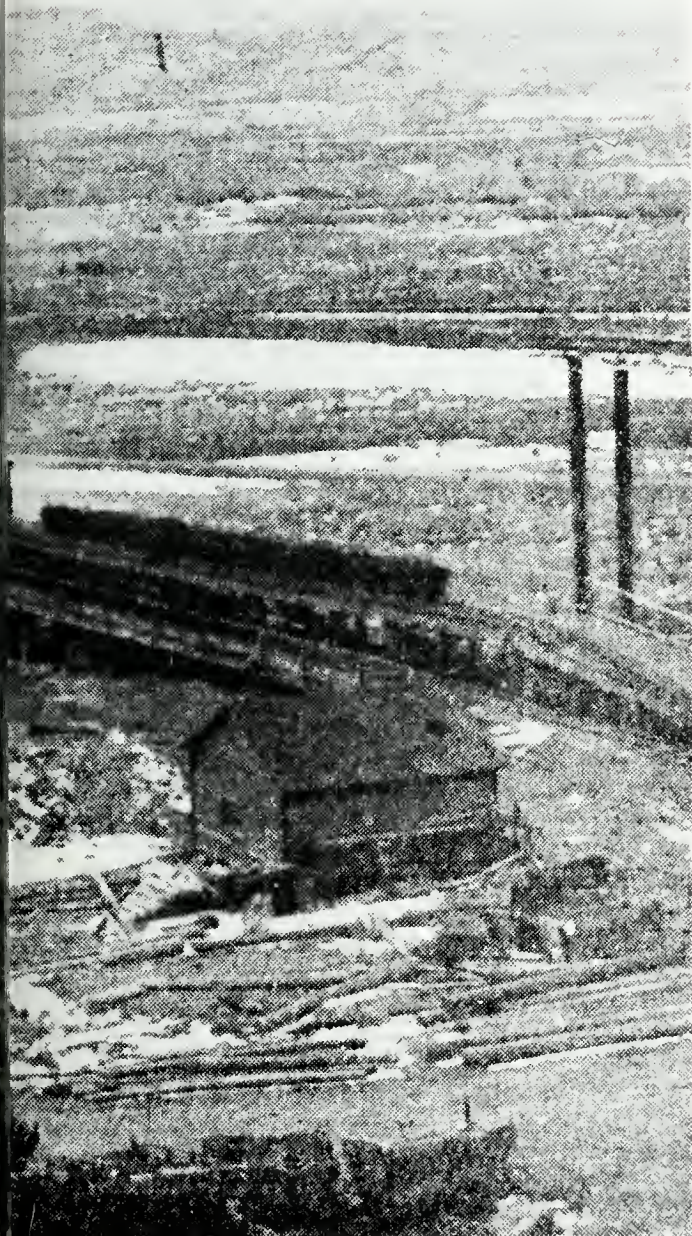


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MINING SAFETY LAWS

Almy was one of Wyoming's earliest and more influential coal-mining communities during the last three decades of the 19th century. Situated on the eastern side of the Bear River approximately three miles north of Evanston, Wyoming, the Almy mines were producing nearly one-third of the coal mined in the Territory of Wyoming by 1880, and by 1886, these mines accounted for 329 of the Territory's 1,129 coal miners.¹ The Almy mines, however, suffered three disastrous explosions between 1881 and 1895 that resulted in the death of 111 miners.² Two of these explosions — 4 March 1881 and 12 January 1886 — occurred before Wyoming had enacted any sort of mining safety legislation. The purpose of this article is to explore the possible connection between the three Almy disasters and the passage and effectiveness of Wyoming's first coal-mining safety law which was introduced into the Ninth Territorial Legislature on 28 January 1886.³

Coal-mining operations at Almy were the result of a series of events that culminated in the presence of two large coal companies: The Rocky Mountain Coal and Iron Company, and the Union Pacific Coal Company. The Rocky Mountain Coal and Iron Company at Almy was originally the Bear River Coal Company which began to explore for coal in that region during the summer of 1868. The Bear River company opened a mine at Almy in September, 1868, and by 1870, had become the Rocky Mountain Coal and Iron Company, a firm controlled by the Central Pacific Railroad. An early and important person connected with the Rocky Mountain Company's Almy operations was Newell Beeman who started as the company's bookkeeper in 1871 and was promoted to superintendent at Almy in 1873. The Union Pacific Coal Company's mines were opened by Thomas Wardell, a Missouri miner who ran a company known as the Wyoming Coal and Mining Company. Being independent of the Union Pacific Railroad, the Wyoming Coal and Mining Company contracted to sell its coal to the Union Pacific, but in 1874, the railroad took over Wardell's mines and began to produce the coal on its own.⁴

Several prominent people in government positions visited the Almy mines in the early 1870s and gave favorable reports on the expanding operations that they witnessed there. In June, 1871, Silas Reed, Surveyor General of Wyoming Territory, inspected the Almy mines and noted the names of the coal companies, the number of mines, the quality of coal and the markets to which the Almy coal was being shipped.⁵ Later that year, F. V. Hayden, a geologist with the federal government, passed through Almy on his way down the Bear River Valley and observed similar findings.⁶ Neither visitor recorded any negative information about the Almy mines in official reports.

In 1873, Rossiter W. Raymond, United States Commissioner of Mining Statistics, sounded the first ominous warning about the hazardous mining conditions that existed at Almy. In describing the Almy mines in his annual report, Raymond commented:

The Evanston coal is clean, and exhibits almost no stratification, while cross-seams are extremely numerous, so that undercutting is carried on at a disadvantage, and the production of a vast amount of slack is the consequence, which is filled on the lower side of the main gangways so as to level them. The coal, and especially the slates, containing much iron pyrites, and the layers of slack often being from 4 to 5 feet thick, there is a great danger of spontaneous combustion; and the Wyoming Company intends, therefore, to hoist in future the greater part of the small coal and burn it on the surface.⁷

Two years after Raymond's report, the Union Pacific Coal Company's Almy Mine Number One caught on fire and was flooded — against the mine foreman's advice — to extinguish the blaze.⁸ Soon after this the Union Pacific abandoned the mine. The rest of the decade passed without a major mishap at Almy while the combined coal production of the Rocky Mountain and Union Pacific coal companies' Almy mines for the 1870s amounted to 1,226,574 tons: Approximately 46% of Wyoming's coal production for the ten-year period.⁹

Then came Wyoming's first coal-mine disaster — the sixth worst in its history from 1868 to 1931 — when the Rocky Mountain Coal and Iron Company's Almy Mine Number Two blew up on 4 March, 1881.¹⁰ A Salt Lake City newspaper report described the violent nature of the explosion:

The gas in Rocky Mountain Coal and Iron Co.'s mine No. 2 at Almy, exploded at 8:45 last evening, throwing the flames many hundreds of feet high out of the main slope carrying away the buildings around the mouth of the shaft and setting the machinery and buildings on fire.¹¹

Thirty-eight miners were killed: 35 Chinese and three white.¹² The disaster was the fourth worst in the history of coal mining in the United States up to 1881.¹³

The 1881 explosion served notice that the Almy mines were exceptionally dangerous. Cliff Stuart, a popular-history author about the Evanston area, stated that the Almy mines had a variety of hazards, including "fire, water, methane gas, explosive dust, rock faults and moun-

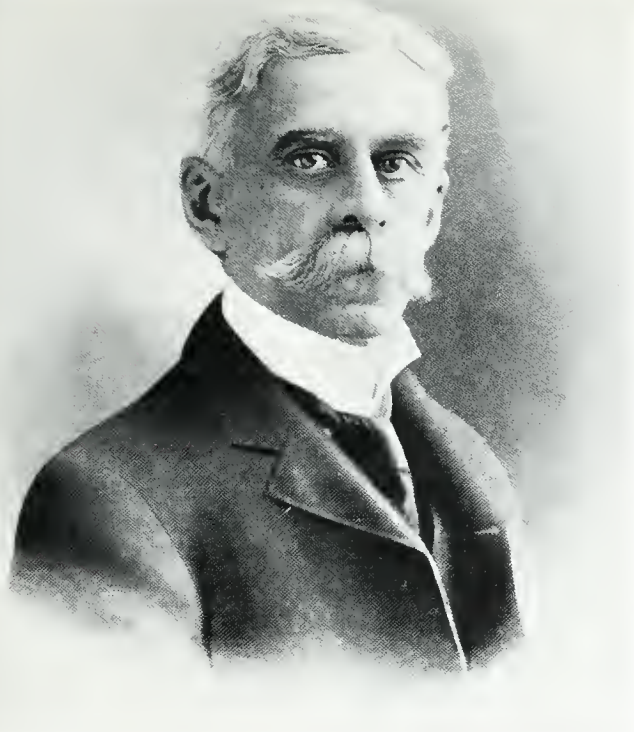
tain shifts."¹⁴ Fifteen years — and two Almy disasters — after the 1881 explosion, Wyoming coal-mine inspector, David G. Thomas, reported in chilling terms:

The most dangerous mines in the state are the ones at Hanna, Red Canon [Red Canon was an extension of the Almy community. Almy was a string of communities that dotted the Bear River Valley.] and Almy. These mines evolve fire-damp [methane gas] in large quantities, which is a continual source of care and anxiety on the part of the management. This gas is constantly oozing from the fissures in the coal and rock and the current of pure air required to dilute and carry it off is enormous.¹⁵

While Thomas' report implied that the coal-mine operators at Almy were safety-conscious people in 1896, evidence exists to suggest that such was not the case ten years earlier. Large-scale coal-mining operations in the United States during the latter half of the 19th century were highly competitive enterprises, and ample documentation can be cited to demonstrate that the coal-mine owners indirectly contributed to the hazards of mining by their disregard for safety measures. The owners' sole concern was often that of profit. In *The History of Legislation for the Protection of Coal Miners in Pennsylvania, 1824-1915*, Alexander Trachtenberg declared that the Pennsylvania mine operators were only interested in the amount of coal that their mines could produce.¹⁶ William Graebner, author of *Coal-Mining Safety in the Progressive Period: The Political Economy of Reform*, concurred with Trachtenberg by arguing that coal-mine owners were economic men who were singularly concerned with high and low production costs in a fiercely competitive marketplace.¹⁷

In translating this idea of owner neglect to the coal-mining-safety situation in pre-1900 Wyoming, the second of Almy's three mine disasters is instructive. In its article, "The Explosion at Almy," the *Salt Lake Herald* reported on 15 January, 1886, that 13 coal miners — 11 men and two boys — had been killed by an explosion in the Union Pacific Coal Company's Almy Mine Number Four.¹⁸ The results of the explosion were devastating: On 16 January, 1886, the *Herald* graphically described the mutilated condition of the slain miners and commented that the explosion's blast had dashed "everything that stood in its way to pieces."¹⁹ Several months later, Newell Beeman, having just been appointed to the Territory's newly created post of coal-mine inspector, published a report that gave substance to the charges made by Trachtenberg and Graebner against mine owners. In his report, Beeman stated:

Until recently very little attention has been paid to ventilation in most of the mines in the Territory, the levels and rooms being worked without lines, and no system of ventilation or drainage, the main object having been to get out the coal at as little cost as possible, regardless of the health and safety of employees or the future development and operation of the mines. This economical policy resulted last January in an explosion of fire damp in one of the mines, which cost the lives of thirteen men.²⁰



PROGRESSIVE MEN OF WYOMING

Newell Beeman, Wyoming's first inspector of coal mines.

This was Wyoming's second coal-mining disaster. Before an attempt can be made to assess the impact of the two Almy explosions on Territorial coal-mining safety legislation, another aspect of Almy's coal-mining history must be considered: The ability of the community's coal miners to articulate the need for mining safety laws. Here it is important to discuss historic features of Almy's economic, ethnic and religious character.

From its beginning, Almy was a series of company-built mining communities that were grouped around the various mine openings along a sandstone bluff on the Bear River.²¹ In 1891, Andrew Jenson, a historian for the Mormon Church, visited Almy and observed the spread-out nature of the community:

The miners' cabins, which chiefly consisted of small frame houses containing from one to three rooms each, are built in clusters along the county road leading from Evanston to Woodruff, and form a sort of string-town nearly five miles long.²²

In addition to the miners' quarters, the string of communities had other structures necessary to provide a high degree of self-sufficiency. After his visit to Almy in 1871, Silas Reed enumerated the buildings that were being constructed by the Rocky Mountain Coal and Iron Company. In all, Reed noted three engine houses with snow sheds, three blacksmith shops, two stables with corrals, a powder magazine, a store, an office, an ice house, a butcher shop and various small buildings.²³ Almy also had several churches, schools, a labor union hall and recreation facilities.²⁴

A significant social characteristic within Almy's cluster of mining camps was its ethnic composition. Almy was,

from approximately 1870 to the termination of its large-scale mining in 1900, a settlement populated mainly by foreign-born residents. At first, the immigrants came from the British Isles as revealed by the 1870 census which showed that nearly 70% of Almy's population was from England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. Of the 104 names on the rolls for the dwellings that surrounded the Wyoming Coal Company's mine, 48 were from England, 37 from Scotland and three from Ireland. For the 38 people listed as living around the Rocky Mountain Company's mine, 12 were from Scotland, two from Wales, and one each from England and Ireland.²⁵

Within a year of the 1870 census, however, Almy's ethnic composition changed dramatically as a result of the Rocky Mountain Coal and Iron Company's importation of Chinese workers. Silas Reed reported in 1871 that of the Rocky Mountain Company's labor force of 230 men at Almy, 175 were Chinese.²⁶ Rossiter Raymond's 1873 report elaborated on the trend toward the use of Chinese in the Rocky Mountain mines:

The Rocky Mountain Company employs mostly Chinese, a sufficient number of English and American miners being only retained to train the former. The Wyoming Company employs English, Scotch, and American miners at Evanston.²⁷

The 1880 census demonstrated the continuation of the employment of foreign-born miners. Of Almy's 238 coal-mine workers, 168 were Chinese while 37 were English, 18 Scots, 14 Welsh and one from Ireland.²⁸

By 1880, resentment against the Chinese workers in the United States had grown to a significantly high level. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was one manifestation of this resentment while the slaying of 28 Chinese at Rock Springs, Wyoming, on 2 September, 1885, was another. In October, 1885, national labor leader, Terence V. Powderly, speaking to the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor, lashed out against the use of Chinese workers in American mines:

The recent assault upon the Chinese at Rock Springs is but the outcome of the feeling caused by the indifference of our law-makers to the just demands of the people for relief. No man can applaud the act by which these poor people were deprived of their lives and homes. They were not to blame. They were but the instruments in the hands of men who sought to degrade American free labor. Had those who made the attack upon the Chinese at Rock Springs but singled out the men who smuggled them into the country and offered them up as a sacrifice to their own greed, I would have no tears to shed.²⁹

Powderly's expression of a working-class antagonism toward the Chinese and his reference to the slayings at Rock Springs, Wyoming, were reflected by events at Almy and Evanston: Events that strongly suggest that Almy's white miners were conscious of and in sympathy with a nationwide, working-class desire to alter their working conditions. Following the outbreak of violence in Rock Springs on 2 September, 1885, the Union Pacific Railroad transported many of the surviving Chinese to Evanston, Wyo-

ming, where a large Chinese community existed immediately north of the railroad depot.³⁰ On 3 September, 1885, however, Territorial Governor Francis E. Warren, who had traveled to Rock Springs, received a telegram from Sheriff J. J. LeCain of Evanston who felt that "the outrages at Rock Springs are liable to be repeated here." Warren hastened by special train to Evanston where armed men had gathered, prominent citizens were being threatened by anonymous letters and the white miners of Almy were meeting in a rented hall to demand the expulsion of the Chinese from the Almy mines. The governor then requested that the President of the United States dispatch federal troops to Rock Springs and Evanston, and by 5 September, 1885, two companies of United States Infantry — Company A of the Ninth Regiment and Company I of the 21st Regiment — were in Evanston's Chinatown to which all of Almy's Chinese miners had been removed. At Almy the coal mines were closed and white miners were warning the Chinese not to return lest they be shot at. Beckwith, Quinn and Company, the Evanston business firm that had provided the Chinese laborers for the Rock Springs and Almy mines, was warned to pay off the Chinese and to get them out of town. On the evening of 8 September, 1885, and the next morning, reinforcements were added to the troops at Rock Springs and Evanston, but by this time the situation had become more peaceful. On 9 September, 1885, Warren notified military authorities in Washington, D.C.:

Chinamen who took refuge in Evanston when driven from Rock Springs are now aboard cars returning to Rock Springs under guard of civil officers, followed by train transporting troops.

Chinese miners, however, were not returned to Almy, and when the mines there reopened only white miners remained to work them.

Not only did the Chinese incident at Rock Springs and Evanston reflect Almy's link to a national working-class consciousness, but it created the circumstances by which Almy developed a strong community identity based on ethnic origins. William Moroni Purdy, a survivor of Almy's disastrous 1895 explosion, described Almy's cohesive identity when he wrote in 1944:

Perhaps nowhere could you find a community or a group of communities more closely united, being practically all English speaking, their religious and recreational activities were so closely knit, as to form with few exceptions, one huge family.³⁰

Once the Chinese were gone from Almy, the only non-English speaking group of immigrants was from Finland. This group began to move to Almy in significant numbers in 1884 and it seemed to be more integrated into the community than the Chinese had been.³¹

Religion was a major influence in the cohesiveness found at Almy. The four main Christian churches in the community were the Methodist, Episcopalian, Lutheran and Mormon. Church buildings were constructed for the Methodist and Lutheran groups while the Episcopalians

maintained a Sunday school program at Almy.³² The most prominent religious group at Almy, however, was the Mormon church. Mormon historian, Andrew Jensen, noted that his church had had 125 members in Almy in 1870 and that by 1878, the church had established a ward organization with James Bowns, a coal miner from England, as the leading lay official. Of the thirteen miners killed in the Almy explosion of 12 January, 1886, at least eight were Mormon. In 1889, the Mormons constructed a large, brick meeting house at Almy near Mine Number Five.³³ In commenting on the construction of this building, a New Deal Federal Writers Project author reflected the ethnic-religious cohesiveness that existed in Almy during the late 1800s:

They were a happy, congenial group of people, mostly English, Irish or Scotch, with several families of Finlanders and one or two Norwegians. They never failed to cooperate when asked for a donation. When the Mormon church was built, each and everyone subscribed whether he belonged or not.³⁴

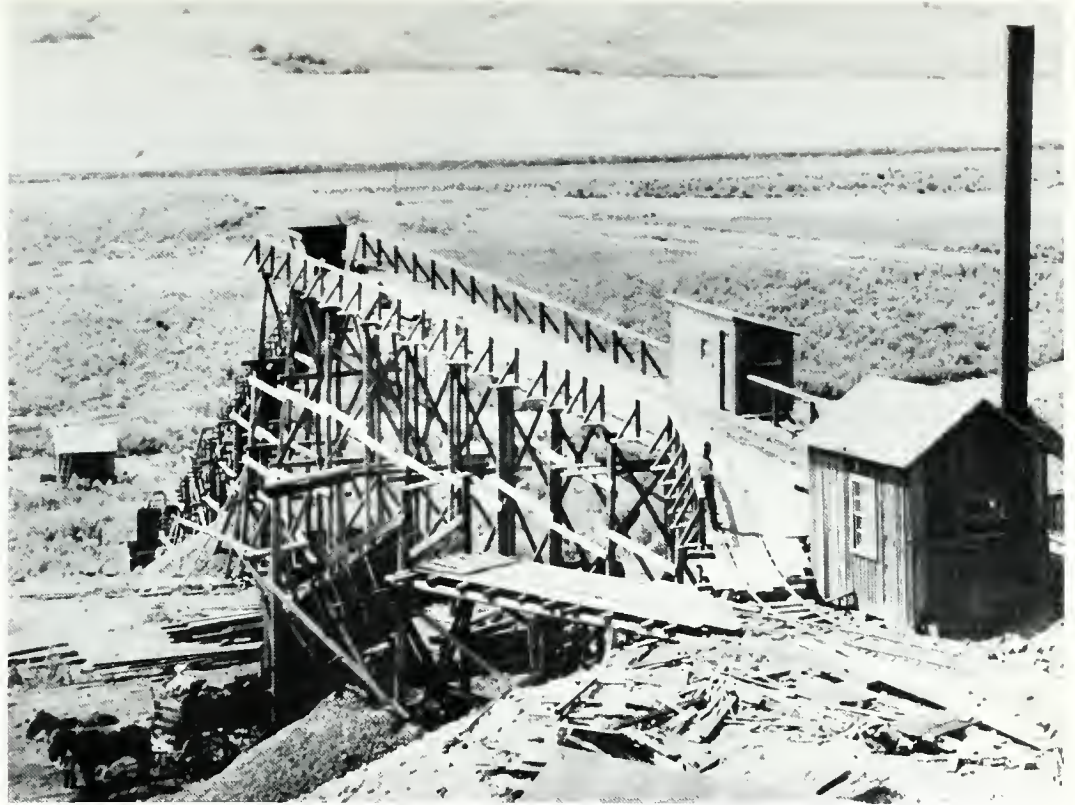
Wyoming's Ninth Territorial Legislature convened in Cheyenne on 12 January, 1886, less than five months after the Chinese massacre at Rock Springs.³⁵ At 11:30 that evening the Union Pacific Coal Company's Almy Mine Number Four blew up, killing 13 miners.³⁶ The disaster received front page coverage in the Territorial capitol's newspaper, *The Democratic Leader*, which announced that the bodies of two miners had been thrown out of the mine into a field one-half mile away.³⁷ All of the adult miners were married which meant that Almy was left with 11 widows and 22 fatherless children.³⁸ At that time, Wyoming had no coal-safety laws whereas 13 coal-mining states already had enacted such legislation.³⁹ Pennsylvania, which had passed the country's first mining safety law in 1869, was considered to be the most progressive state in the country for mining legislation.⁴⁰ Delivering an opening address to the Territorial Legislature on 19 January, 1886, Wyoming's Governor Warren commented on the Territory's lack of a safety ordinance:

Your attention is also called to the necessity of providing by law suitable protection for the miners against dangers arising from improper ventilation, insufficient timbering, want of escapement shafts, and other accidents incident to mining underground.⁴¹

Warren made no specific mention of Almy, yet if he had any specific Wyoming coal-mining disaster in mind when he delivered the address, he would have had to have been referring to Almy because the Territory's only two fatal explosions to date had occurred there.

On 20 January, 1886, Territorial Representative Stephen W. Downey, an attorney from Albany County, introduced a resolution to the Territorial House. He spoke directly to the recent Almy explosion and laid the blame upon the Territorial Legislature for its not having previously enacted any form of coal-mining safety laws. In an "eloquent and forceful speech," Downey contended that

*Union Pacific Coal
Company mine tippie
at Almy.*



AMH PHOTO

the Legislature could restore its good reputation by providing for the financial relief of the widows from the Almy explosion. His resolution called for the payment of \$1,000 to each of the eleven widows. Representative John L. Russell, a Mormon coal miner from Almy, seconded Downey's resolution. Opponents to the motion were quick to argue that the Territory could not become "a sort of a father to everybody."⁴² The move to compensate the Almy widows was defeated, but a first direct connection between the Almy explosion and the lack of safety legislation had been made.

Before a second Almy connection could be made in the Territorial House, the legislators' attention turned to two other coal-mining concerns. On 25 January, 1886, Representative Isaac Whitehouse, a Rock Springs coal miner who had been jailed during the Chinese Massacre, called for a joint legislative committee to investigate the Chinese incident. This proposal, however, was rejected on the grounds that a Sweetwater County grand jury had already "fully and thoroughly" investigated the affair and that to have the Territory repeat the work would not only incur an unnecessary expense but would "invade the province" of the grand jury.⁴³

On 26 January, 1886, Whitehouse next introduced a bill to "regulate coal weighing at mines."⁴⁴ This bill represented a common-concern item among coal miners in the United States who felt that coal companies were cheating them out of money by improperly weighing the coal that the miners produced.⁴⁵ The bill passed both chambers of the Legislature, but on 8 March, 1886, Warren vetoed the measure. Citing the violation of civil con-

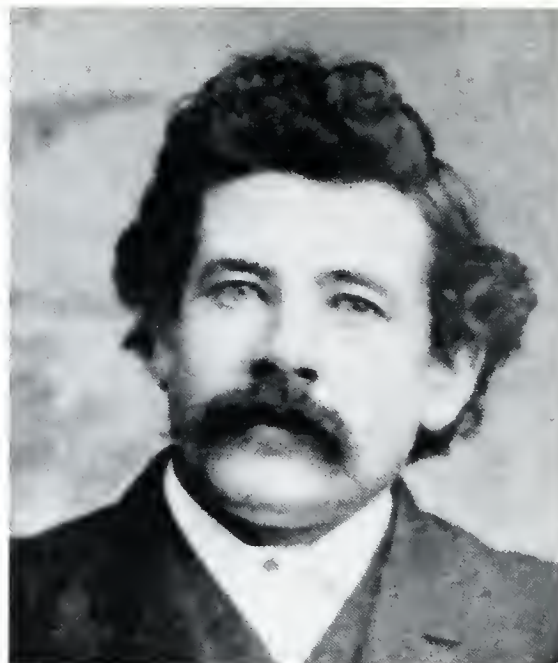
tracts, class legislation, arbitrary treatment of Wyoming coal and the rendering of Wyoming coal as uncompetitive in the national marketplace, Warren's reasons for rejecting the bill closely resembled the arguments used by pro-mine-owner lobby groups in other states where coal-mining safety laws had been opposed.⁴⁶

Given the conservative nature of Wyoming's Territorial governor and legislature in 1886 — as reflected in the rejection of Downey's Almy-widow resolution and Whitehouse's coal-weighing bill — it is possible to conceive of the Ninth Territorial Legislature as an anti-coal miner assembly. Yet two days after the introduction of Whitehouse's weighing bill, Representative John L. Russell presented House Bill #23: An act "regulating coal mines and providing for the lives, health and safety of those employed therein."⁴⁷ And herein resided the second connection between the Almy explosions and the passage of Wyoming's first coal-mining safety law. By 1886, Russell was a well established member of Almy and was to a great extent typical of his fellow residents. Early records of his Almy activities indicate that he was the clerk for the Mormon Church's Almy Ward.⁴⁸ The 1880 Almy census lists him as 27 years old, married, a coal miner and an immigrant from Scotland.⁴⁹ His political influence within the community is attested to by the fact that he not only represented Almy at the Ninth Territorial Legislature, but that he was also to be a delegate to Wyoming's Constitutional Convention in 1889 and was also to serve as a State Senator from 1890 to 1893.⁵⁰ As a coal miner, Russell was conscious of his working-class status and was assertive of his Almy residency. "I work for a living," he declared at

the 1889 Constitutional Convention, "My people I represent are a working class people." His "people," he declared, were "the miners of Almy."⁵¹

It is important to recall that the majority of Almy's miners were immigrants from the British Isles once the Chinese had been removed from the community and that Russell, being from Scotland, was representative of the town's ethnic composition. Even as late as 1900, when the Almy mines were being closed down, census records indicate that 63 of Almy's 108 remaining miners were from England, Scotland and Wales.⁵² In *The History of Legislation for the Protection of Coal Miners in Pennsylvania*, Trachtenberg emphasized the fact that many of Pennsylvania's coal miners were from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, and he concluded that not only had these miners benefitted from an English coal-mining-safety-legislation movement in the 1850s but that they had become active supporters of a similar movement in Pennsylvania in the 1860s.⁵³ While it cannot be proven that Russell was personally influenced by events in England or Pennsylvania, there is evidence that at least one contemporary Scottish miner in Almy was said to have gained his reform activism from his mining experiences in Scotland. This was Matthew Morrow who began to mine coal at age nine, then moved to the United States in 1879 and finally, in 1886, settled in Almy where he found the mining conditions to be "as bad or worse than they had ever been in Scotland."⁵⁴ Morrow became involved in miners' organizations at Almy and once served as the Knights of Labor's Master Workman for the community.⁵⁵ Therefore, it is reasonable to believe that the immigrant miners of Almy were, concerning a mining-safety movement, influenced to a significant degree by their ethnic heritage and that Russell, as their representative to the 1886 Legislature, was similarly motivated to espouse protective legislation.

Once introduced House Bill #23's journey through the Territorial Legislature was swift and virtually uncontested with only scant alteration to the original text. On 11 February, 1886, the House passed the bill on third reading with a vote of 21 ayes, zero nays, and three members absent. In the Council the bill passed unanimously on 16 February, 1886.⁵⁶ Then, on 21 February, 1886, four days before Warren signed the bill into law, Cheyenne's *The Democratic Leader* carried a front-page story under the headline: "A Disaster at Almy." According to the article Almy's Mine Number Three had just exploded while 40 men were inside. Thirteen miners were injured, one severely. The story claimed that several days before the explosion, miners had refused to enter the mine because of an accumulation of fire damp.⁵⁷ This incident was something of an exclamation point to the Legislature's passage of House Bill #23, and on 25 February, 1886, Warren signed the bill into law. On 6 March, 1886, Almy's John L. Russell, chairman of the House's Mines and Mining Committee, reported:



John L. Russell

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Your Committee No. 9, to whom was referred that portion of the Governor's message relating to mines and mining, beg leave to report that they have carefully considered the same and think the legislation already passed, with that in progress, very fully protects the mining interests, and also the health and safety of those employed therein.⁵⁸

Wyoming's new coal-mining safety law was composed of 23 sections, the majority of which were outlined by marginal notations as follows:

Maps of mines, Each mine to have not less than two shafts or slopes, How outlets shall be kept, Ventilation, Fire damp, Mining boss — his duties, Rules to be posted, Protection of miners, Territorial inspector of coal mines, Inspector shall give bond, His duties, Inspectors' rights and duties, Accidents in mines, When territorial inspector neglects his duties, Appeals from decisions of inspector, Mining board, Who shall be employed, Penalty for violating this act, Lawful damages, Stretchers at mouth of mine, Special report of territorial inspector, Reports from mine owners to territorial inspectors, Penalties for violation of provisions of this act.⁵⁹

Being Wyoming's first mining safety law, this act was not a pioneering piece of legislation. Its contents closely resembled Maryland's Safety Law of 1876 and Pennsylvania's bituminous mine safety act of 1877.⁶⁰ Even if the law added nothing new, however, it did address a set of common problems that many coal-mining states were interested in: Problems such as the need for proper mine ventilation and two mine entrances, the advisability of maintaining updated maps of a mine's workings and of providing stretchers at the opening to each mine, and the importance of having a government inspector of coal mines. For Wyoming, the creation of the office of Territorial inspector of coal mines was the heart of House Bill #23. Sections 8-14, 19 and 20 addressed the position and demanded that the person filling the office have "a thorough knowledge of practical mining and mining engineering" and that this person not be "an employee, owner

or part owner of any mine in the Territory." The inspector was to be at least 30 years of age and of "good repute and temperate habits." His duties included the examination of every coal mine in Wyoming at least once every three months "to see that all the provisions of this act are observed and carried out." Compensation allowed the inspector included an annual salary of \$2,500 and travel expenses.⁶¹ When a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1889 proposed that Wyoming save the \$2,500 salary by making the State geologist the "ex officio" mine inspector, John L. Russell countered:

The position of coal mine inspector is such a one that the necessary knowledge is not obtained in schools, the practical knowledge that office demands is only obtained in coal mines.⁶²

The coal-mine inspector's position was retained by the State's constitution.⁶³

Although the contents of House Bill #23 added nothing new to the corpus of state mining-safety laws, the timing of the bill's passage reflected a national sequence of events that Trachtenberg felt to be significant: A fact that represents the third Almy connection. In his discussion of the passage of Pennsylvania's 1870 coal-mining safety law, Trachtenberg described the Avondale coal-mine disaster of 6 September, 1869 — in which 179 miners died — and commented:

The Avondale disaster did for the miners of Pennsylvania what the disasters in the mining region of England had done for the English miners. It was largely through such wholesale sacrifice of lives that better legislation for the protection of miners was secured.⁶⁴

Graebner, while not relating such timing to the passage of a specific coal-mining safety act, pursued a similar line of reasoning when he detailed the events that led to the creation of the United States Bureau of Mines in 1910. Noting two particular catastrophic mine explosions in December, 1907 — Monongah, West Virginia, on 6 December, with a death toll of 361 and Darr, Pennsylvania, where 239 miners were killed — Graebner concluded that it was this set of explosions that brought the need for better safety laws to the public's attention and created a demand for national legislation.⁶⁵

In terms of the timing of the passage of Wyoming's mining safety act, Trachtenberg's sequence-of-events theory possesses a certain validity that provides an immediate-cause nexus between the Almy mine disaster of 12 January, 1886, and the passage of House Bill #23. At least one person contemporary to the actual events commented on the possible connection, and he was C. G. Epperson, an Evanston resident who was appointed to the office of Territorial inspector of coal mines on 1 October, 1887.⁶⁶ Displaying an intricate knowledge of the mining situation at Almy, Epperson discussed the character of Almy's Mine Number Four — "a great mine was in prospect" — in his 1888-89 report and gave a vivid account of the results of the 12 January, 1886, explosion:

A terrific explosion of fire-damp and coal-dust, (mine being very dry) January 12, 1886, distroying [sic] 13 lives, all

that were in the mine at the time, crippling the fan beyond use, blocking up air-ways so that they were not available, the fire from the explosion visiting every portion of the mine, and not one timber was left standing inside.⁶⁷

Then Epperson speculated on the possibility that the mine disaster had provided a stimulus to the swift and successful movement of House Bill #23 through the Ninth Territorial Legislature:

This explosion was possibly, the immediate cause of the passage of the Mining Law, under which the mines are at present conducted, as the 9th general assembly was in session on its occurence, [sic], and the bill was introduced and passed, but a few days later.⁶⁸

Once Wyoming had enacted its mining-safety law of 1886, nine years passed without a coal-mine disaster. Then on 20 March, 1895, Rocky Mountain Coal and Iron Company's Almy Mine Number Five exploded, killing 61 miners.⁶⁹ This was Wyoming's third and worst disaster to date and it called into question the effectiveness of the State's mining-safety laws which had not been improved since 1886. Having been opened in 1877, Mine Number Five caught on fire in January, 1891, but was determined in 1892, to be in good repair after a new air course had been installed.⁷⁰ A coroner's jury which investigated the disaster declared that the cause of the 20 March, 1895, explosion was a combination of fire-damp and coal dust.⁷¹ The State inspector of coal mines agreed with the jury's conclusion and commented:

The mine was fearfully dusty, and the miners had been working all day, firing heavy shots, the mules tramping all day with loaded and empty trips. At every shot fired, and steps of the mules and movement of the cars, the impalpable dust was raised into the current of air, which averaged more than a thousand cubic feet per minute per man, was carried forward to every nook and crook in the mine, and all it needed was a strong flame to start it on its course of destruction.⁷²

Again an Almy connection surfaced. As enacted in 1886, Wyoming's mining-safety law had no provision for dealing with coal dust. Graebner noted in *Coal-Mining Safety Legislation in the Progressive Period* that once a state had created a mining-safety law with a mine-inspector clause, the new mine inspectors would soon begin to call for improved safety legislation.⁷³ This was the case with Wyoming. After Almy's Mine Number Five had exploded, State Mine Inspector David G. Thomas noted in his 1896 report that the Almy mines had recently installed water-sprinkler systems to keep down the coal dust. Citing the Almy improvements, Thomas recommended:

The above mentioned mines are being well cared for in this respect [the use of sprinkler systems], but a provision in the Mining Law should be added making it compulsory to sprinkle with water all mines generating fire damp. This legislative precaution while not really needed at present, for reasons above stated, would enable the inspectors, in mines hereafter evolving fire-damp, to make recommendations which would prevent the dust from entering largely into the dangers of the mine.⁷⁴

On 20 December, 1900, Wyoming's inspector of coal mines, Noah Young, filed his annual report for the year

ending 30 September, 1900, and mentioned that the Rocky Mountain Coal Company had closed its Almy Mine Number Five on 30 April, 1900, and its Almy Mine Number Six on 30 May, 1900, while the Union Pacific had ceased operating its Almy Mine Number Seven on 1 May, 1900.⁷⁵ This was the end of large-scale coal-mining in Almy. One author of the New Deal era commented that these closures were due to the Central Pacific Railroad's converting to oil-burning locomotives and the Union Pacific's turning to other sources of "better, cheaper coal."⁷⁶ On 16 March, 1901, Evanston's weekly newspaper, *The Wyoming Press*, reported: "Great Explosion at No. 7 Mine, Almy."⁷⁷ Stating that the mine had been closed for the past year, the newspaper noted that the explosion was the result of gas and commented that the mine was now "exposed to the ravages of fire."

Such was a fitting end to Almy's 30 years of big-company coal mining. Over the last three decades of the 19th century, Almy's mines had provided a series of mishaps that contributed to the passage of House Bill #23 and then suffered further disaster that reflected the bill's inadequacies. As this article has attempted to demonstrate, the precise connection between Almy's unfortunate events and the enactment of Wyoming's first coal-mining safety law is of a direct, immediate nature. House Bill #23 was

presented to the Ninth Territorial Legislature, then passed and signed by the governor into law within weeks of the 12 January, 1886, Almy disaster. Not only did this tragic explosion cause a lively debate in the Territorial House over financial compensation for Almy's widows from the 1886 explosion, but this debate was joined by an Almy miner who approved of the compensation idea and who, a week later, introduced House Bill #23. The bill passed through both chambers of the legislature so quickly that little record was recorded of it either in the chamber journals or the local newspapers covering the legislature. Therefore, it cannot be proven at this time beyond a doubt that the Almy disaster was on the minds of the members of the Territorial Legislature at the moment they voted for the safety law. Reason suggests, however, that the timing of the explosion and the passage of the bill involve a logical sequence-of-events pattern that make Almy's role in the passage of the law critical. The merits of this logic are strengthened by the statements of Trachtenberg and Graebner who draw attention to the general connection between the timing of coal-mine disasters and the passage of safety laws.

Beyond the immediate cause nature of Almy's link to House Bill #23, however, it is most difficult to provide a conclusive, long-term or cumulative connection between



Aftermath of the 1895 explosion at Almy, Mine Number Five.

AMH PHOTO

events at Almy and the passage of the bill. This paper has explored the possible links that existed in the form of such events as the 4 March, 1881, Almy explosion, the expulsion of the Chinese from the Almy mines in 1885 — with the resultant ethnic solidarity move in Almy — and the opinion of a coal-mine inspector that the Almy mines were among the most dangerous in all of Wyoming. History whispers that it is reasonable to assume a profound cause-and-effect relationship between events at Almy and the passage of House Bill #23, but even without the ability to prove such a nexus, it is possible to demonstrate the fact that Wyoming's third mine explosion — again at Almy — revealed a weakness in the state's mining safety law since this explosion was attributed to a cause not addressed by the mining law. This suggests further that Almy occupied a most influential place in reflecting not only a need for coal-mining legislation, but a need for continual revision of the initial laws. Thus, it can be stated that Almy was one of the most important of Wyoming's early coal-mining communities: Important not in the figures of production or economic contributions to the Territory and State, but in terms of social and legal influences.

Epilogue

Historic episodes sometimes are punctuated by ironic events which reflect the circumstances that generated the original episodes. Regarding John L. Russell's connection with House Bill #23 beyond its passage, the irony became tragic.

On 31 March, 1886, Newell Beeman was appointed by Gov. Francis E. Warren to be the Territory's first inspector of coal mines.⁷⁸ As previously mentioned, Beeman had been superintendent of the Rocky Mountain Coal and Iron Company's Almy mines. Then, on 20 August, 1886, Beeman resigned from the inspector's office for reasons of "important personal business."⁷⁹ Shortly thereafter, John L. Russell applied for the position, stating that he had been a coal miner for twenty years.⁸⁰ Gov. Warren, however, responded to Russell's application rather curtly and informed him that he [Russell] was ineligible for the position because of his having been a member of the legislature that had created the position.⁸¹ Thirteen years later, Russell died in a coal-mine accident near Kemmerer, Wyoming. His death was mentioned in the coal-mine inspector's report of 31 December, 1899:

John L. Russell; age 46; nativity, Scotland; occupation, section foreman; married, wife and seven children; killed in Mine No. 1 at Diamondville, Feb. 12th 1898. He had been in the employ of the Company about six months at the time of his death. This man with others, was working to extinguish the fire in the mine. He ventured to [sic] far and was asphyxiated. Coroner's jury reported no one to blame.⁸²

This is a sad conclusion to Russell's role in the passage and operation of House Bill #23: An act "regulating coal mines and providing for the lives, health and safety of those employed therein."

1. U.S. Department of the Interior, *Mineral Resources of the United States: Calendar Year 1885*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1886), p. 73; and *Carbon County Journal* (Rawlins, Wyoming), July 31, 1886, p. 4.
2. U.S. Bureau of Mines, *Wyoming Coal Mine Explosions, 1881-1931*, Information Circular, No. 6765 (April 1934), prepared by G. M. Kintz.
3. Wyoming Territorial Legislature, House, *House Journal*, 9th Territorial Legislature, 1886, p. 47.
4. Much of the information regarding the opening of mines at Almy is of a confused and contradictory nature (See Appendix A). This author found the most useful sources regarding the initial operations of the Rocky Mountain and Union Pacific mines to be: Elizabeth Arnold Stone, *Uinta County: Its Place in History* (Laramie, Wyoming: Laramie Printing Co., 1924), pp. 121-125; *The News Register* (Evanston, Wyoming), May 8, 1897; Union Pacific Coal Company, *History of the Union Pacific Coal Mines, 1868 to 1940* (Omaha, Nebraska: The Colonial Press, 1940), pp. 98-100; and T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 2nd ed. rev. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), pp. 113-114.
5. Wyoming Territorial Surveyor General, *Report of Silas Reed, Surveyor General of Wyoming Territory for the Year 1871* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871), pp. 19-20.
6. U.S. Department of the Interior, *Preliminary Report of the United States Geological Survey of Montana and Portions of Adjacent Territories*, prepared by F. V. Hayden (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), pp. 193-196.
7. U.S. Treasury Department, *Statistics of Mines and Mining in the States and Territories West of the Rocky Mountains*, prepared by Rossiter W. Raymond (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1873), pp. 369-370.
8. Stone, *Uinta County*, pp. 124-125.
9. Department of Interior, *Mineral Resources*, p. 73.
10. Bureau of Mines, *Wyoming Coal Mine Explosions*.
11. *Salt Lake Herald*, March 5, 1881, p. 1.
12. Philip A. Kalisch, "The Woebegone Miners of Wyoming: A History of Coal Mine Disasters in the Equality State," *Annals of Wyoming*, (October 1970), p. 238.
13. U.S. Bureau of Mines, *Coal-Mine Fatalities in the United States, 1870-1914*, compiled by Albert H. Fay (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), p. 69.
14. Cliff Stuart, "Killer Mine," *Frontier Times*, (February-March 1965), p. 12.
15. Wyo. State Inspector of Coal Mines, *Annual Report of the State Inspector of Coal Mines for the Year Ending September 30th, 1896*, prepared by David G. Thomas (1896).
16. Alexander Trachtenberg, *The History of Legislation for the Protection of Coal Miners in Pennsylvania, 1824-1915* (New York: International Publishers, 1942), p. 24.
17. William Graebner, *Coal-Mining Safety in the Progressive Period: The Political Economy of Reform* (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1976), p. 142.
18. *Salt Lake Herald*, January 15, 1886, p. 8.
19. *Salt Lake Herald*, January 16, 1886, p. 8.
20. *Carbon County Journal*, July 31, 1886, p. 4.
21. See Appendix A for a list of Almy mines.
22. Andrew Jenson, "Almy Ward: Uintah [sic] County, Wyoming," Papers of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (Church Historian's Office, Microfilm reel 10591), p. 25.
23. Surveyor General, *Report of Silas Reed*, p. 19.
24. These facilities were often moved from location to location as a camp was shifted from one mine entrance to another. They were also improved upon as demand warranted during the 1870s and 1880s. For examples see: Jenson, "Almy Ward," pp. 14-15, 22-23;

- Stone, *Uinta County*, pp. 127, 129-130; *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 24, 1979, p. 6A; and *The Wyoming Times*, March 14, 1912, p. 1.
25. U.S. Census Bureau, *Ninth United States Census, 1870: Volume I; Wyoming* (Washington: 1870), sheet 552.
26. Surveyor General, *Report of Silas Reed*, p. 19.
27. Treasury Department, *Statistics of Mines*, p. 369.
28. U.S. Census Bureau, *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880; Volume I: Wyoming; Almy* (Washington: 1880), sheet 326.
29. Terence V. Powderly, *Thirty Years of Labor, 1859-1889* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1967), p. 215.
30. All information for the Chinese massacre was taken from: Wyoming Governor, *Special Report of the Governor of Wyoming to the Secretary of the Interior Concerning Chinese Labor Troubles* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885), pp. 111-116; [Isaac H. Bromley], *The Chinese Massacre at Rock Springs, Wyoming Territory* (Boston: Franklin Press; Rand, Avery, and Company, 1886), p. 3; and Stone, *Uinta County*, p. 127.
31. Lorenzo Groutage, *Wyoming Mine Run* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Paragon Press, 1981), p. 118.
32. Stone, *Uinta County*, p. 134; and *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 24, 1979, p. 6A.
33. Stone, *Uinta County*, p. 129.
34. Jenson, "Almy Ward," pp. 13, 17, 23, 25.
35. "Organizing of Miners in Almy" (WPA Manuscript Collection, Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department, Cheyenne, Wyoming), #1350, p. 2.
36. Legislature, *House Journal* (1886), title page.
37. *Salt Lake Herald*, January 15, 1886, p. 8.
38. *The Democratic Leader*, January 15, 1886, p. 1.
39. Jenson, "Almy Ward," pp. 20-21.
40. U.S. Bureau of Mines, *Historic Summary of Coal Mine Explosions in the United States*, Bulletin 586 (1960), prepared by H. B. Humphrey, p. 15.
41. Graebner, *Coal-Mining Safety*, p. 72.
42. Wyoming Territorial Governor, *Biennial Message of Francis E. Warren, Governor, to the Legislature of Wyoming: Ninth Assembly* (Cheyenne, Wyoming: Press of the Daily Sun, 1886), p. 8.
43. *The Democratic Leader*, January 21, 1886, p. 3.
44. Legislature, *House Journal* (1886), pp. 32, 76-77.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
46. For examples of this concern, see: Trachtenberg, *History of Legislation*, pp. 13, 88; and Katherine A. Harvey, *The Best Dressed Miners: Life and Labor in the Maryland Coal Region, 1835-1910* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), pp. 216-220.
47. Legislature, *House Journal* (1886), pp. 253-256. For examples of coal-mine-owner resistance to mining safety legislation see: Trachtenberg, *History of Legislation*, pp. 62-63, 88-89, 94-95.
48. Legislature, *House Journal* (1886), p. 47.
49. Jenson, "Almy Ward," p. 8.
50. Census Bureau, *Tenth Census*, sheet 326.
51. Marie H. Erwin, *Wyoming Historical Blue Book* (Denver, Colorado: Bradford-Robinson Printing Company, 1946), p. 641.
52. Wyoming Constitutional Convention, *Journal and Debates of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Wyoming* (Cheyenne, Wyoming: The Daily Sun Book and Job Printing, 1893), pp. 250, 697.
53. U.S. Census Bureau, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Wyoming, Schedule No. 1 — Population: Volume 3* (Washington: 1900).
54. Trachtenberg, *History of Legislation*, pp. 26-27.
55. "Organizing of Miners in Almy," p. 1.
56. *Wyoming Labor Journal* (Cheyenne, Wyoming), August 31, 1917, p. 21.
57. Legislature, *House Journal* (1886), pp. 47, 80, 83, 97, 127.
58. *The Democratic Leader*, February 21, 1886, p. 1.
59. Wyoming Territory, *Session Laws of Wyoming Territory Passed by the Ninth Legislative Assembly Convened at Cheyenne on the Twelfth Day of January, 1886* (Cheyenne, Wyoming: Vaughn and Montgomery, Printers and Binders, n.d.), p. 57; and Legislature, *House Journal* (1886), pp. 238-239.
60. Wyoming, *Session Laws* (1886), pp. 44-57.
61. For Maryland's law see: Harvey, *Best Dressed Miners*, p. 210. Since its first coal-mining safety law — Schuylkill County Ventilation Act of 1869 — Pennsylvania progressively revised its safety regulations. In 1870, after a disaster at Avondale, the state passed a second and more comprehensive ventilation act. Then, in 1877, after seven years of legislative debate, the state enacted a law "providing for the means of securing the health and safety of persons employed in the bituminous mines of Pennsylvania." Additional revisions were made in 1885, 1889 and 1893. See: Trachtenberg, *History of Legislation*, pp. 32-35, 41-45, 72-73, 106-115, 135, 162-164.
62. Wyoming, *Session Laws* (1886), pp. 50-51.
63. Constitutional Convention, *Journal and Debate*, p. 853.
64. *Ibid.*, Constitution section, p. 36.
65. Trachtenberg, *History of Legislation*, p. 37.
66. Graebner, *Coal-Mining Safety*, pp. 11-15.
67. Wyoming Territorial Inspector of Coal Mines, *Report for Oct. 1, 1888 to Sept. 30, 1889*, prepared by C. G. Epperson, p. 17.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
70. Wyoming State Inspector of Coal Mines, *Annual Report: Inspector of Coal Mines of Wyoming, 1895*, prepared by David G. Thomas (Year ending 30 Sept. 1895).
71. Wyoming State Inspector of Coal Mines, *Biennial Report of State Inspector of Coal Mines to John E. Osborne, Governor of the State of Wyoming*, prepared by David G. Thomas (7 April 1893), pp. 6-7.
72. State Inspector, *Annual Report* (1895).
73. *Ibid.*
74. Graebner, *Coal-Mining Safety*, pp. 4-5.
75. Wyoming State Inspector of Coal Mining, *Annual Report of the State Inspector of Coal Mines for the Year Ending September 30th, 1896*, prepared by David G. Thomas.
76. Wyoming State Inspector of Coal Mines, *The Report of the State Inspector of Coal Mines for the Current Year Ending September 30th, 1900*, prepared by Noah Young.
77. "Organizing of Miners at Almy," p. 4.
78. *The Wyoming Press*, March 16, 1901, p. 1.
79. *Carbon County Journal*, July 31, 1886, p. 4.
80. Beeman to Warren, August 20, 1886, Francis E. Warren Collection, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming.
81. Russell to Warren, September 10, 1886, Francis E. Warren Collection, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming.
82. Warren to Russell, October 4, 1886, Francis E. Warren Papers, Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department, Cheyenne, Wyoming.
83. Wyoming State Inspector of Coal Mines, *Office of State Coal Mine Inspector for Wyoming, December 31, 1899, for Year Ending 30th September 1899*, prepared by Noah Young.

Mine No.	Owner	Opened	Abandoned
1	Wyoming Coal Co., succeeded by Union Pacific Coal Co.	1869	Before 1888.
2	Rocky Mountain Coal and Iron Co.	June, 1869	Do.
3	Union Pacific Coal Co.	1880	May, 1887.
4 do	1875	November, 1888.
5	Rocky Mountain Coal and Iron Co.	August, 1869	Still Operating.
6 do	First, April, 1871; second, 1888.	About 1901.
7	Union Pacific Coal Co.	1888	April, 1900.

APPENDIX

Number of Mines Located at Almy

I.

An early account of the initiation of mining at Almy appeared in a *News Register* article on 8 May 1897. According to the article, the following events led to the opening of Almy's first mines:

— Means and Shafer, two men dispatched by Union Pacific civil engineer, Major Lawrence, discovered coal in the Almy area and filed separate coal-mining claims.

— Shafer sold his claim to Lawrence who formed a partnership with Means and several other men. They created the Bear River Coal Company.

— The Bear River Coal Company opened Almy's first coal mine in September, 1868.

— In November, 1868, Thomas Wardell sent a party of miners to Almy. By December, he was operating a coal mine 1,000 feet south of the Bear River Coal Company's mine.

— Soon after Wardell began his Almy mining operation, Lawrence ran him out of Almy.

— Wardell returned with a group of armed men and regained his property.

— Soon after Wardell had reappeared, the Bear River Coal Company was taken over by a Cheyenne mining company called the Rocky Mountain Coal Company.

— As the Bear River company's Almy properties were being turned over to the Rocky Mountain Coal Company, Lawrence repossessed Wardell's land with the aid of a Salt Lake law officer, and then gave Wardell's property to the Rocky Mountain Coal Company.

— Wardell's former mine later became known as the Rocky Mountain Coal and Iron Company's Mine Number One.

— Wardell then opened a mine at Almy for the Wyoming Coal and Mining Company. This mine was designated as the Wyoming Mine Number One.

— The Wyoming Coal and Mining Company also opened the Wyoming Coal and Mining Company's Mine Number Two which became known as the Hinton Mine after William Hinton, a superintendent for the Wyoming company, took over the mine to operate for himself.

— In May, 1869, Henry Simon began to excavate the Rocky Mountain Coal Company's Mine Number One.

— In January, 1870, the Rocky Mountain Coal Company became the Rocky Mountain Coal and Iron Company, an enterprise that was soon to be controlled by men such as Charles Crocker who were connected to the Central Pacific Railroad.

— In 1871, the Rocky Mountain Coal and Iron Company opened Mine Number Three.

— Newell Beeman, who began as a bookkeeper for the Rocky Mountain Coal and Iron Company, became the firm's superintendent at Almy in 1873. In 1886, he resigned the superintendent's position but later became the company's general manager.

II.

According to *History of the Union Pacific Coal Mines*, the Union Pacific's Almy mines encountered the following history:

— Wyoming Mine; opened by Thomas Wardell in February, 1869, taken over by the Union Pacific Coal Company in 1874 and closed because of a fire in 1875.

— Hinton Mine; opened in 1869 by William Hinton and Michael Quealy and closed in 1874 when the Rocky Mountain Coal and Iron Company "holed" into it.

— Windsor Mine; opened in 1874 when the Hinton Mine was closed, and was holed into by the Union Pacific in 1877.

— Mine Number Four; opened in 1875 by the Union Pacific and closed in 1888 after a fire broke out, killing four miners.

— Mine Number Three; opened by the Union Pacific in 1880 and abandoned because of squeeze in May, 1888.

— Mine Number Seven; opened by the Union Pacific in 1888 and closed in 1900.

III.

Interior Department geologist, A. C. Veatch, did an extensive study of the geology of the Almy area during the summer of 1905. Included in his subsequent reports was information on the number and locations of the Almy mines. Above is a chart he provided in his 1907 report:

IV.

In 1918, the Union Pacific Railroad resurveyed its line to Almy and noted the location of the following mines (listed in sequence from the southern most mine to the northern most):

— Mine No. 3; U.P.

— Mine No. 3.5; U.P. -Old Wyoming Mine

— Mine No. 2; R.M.C.&I. Co.

— Mine No. 4; Thomas Opening

— Mine No. 4; U.P.

— Mine No. 4.5; U.P. -Being operated by the Bear River Coal Co.

— Mine No. 5; R.M.C.&I. Co.

— Mine No. 6; R.M.C.&I. Co.

— Mine No. 7; U.P.

— Mine No. 8; R.M.C.&I. Co.

BOOK REVIEWS

Forging New Rights in Western Waters. By Robert G. Dunbar. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.) Index. Illus. 217 pages. Cloth, \$19.95.

For a resource that is as vital to an entire region, and a lasting topic for political rhetoric and editorial comment, it is amazing how little scholarly research and writing has been done on western water, its usage, development and legal and property status. Professor Robert Dunbar's new and excellent book, *Forging New Rights in Western Waters*, is long overdue, and should be required reading for Westerners who want a better understanding of the arid region's vanishing water resources.

Professor Emeritus at Montana State University and formerly associate professor at Colorado State University, Dunbar's research into western water spans more than 40 years, and the data is meticulously accurate and lucidly presented. Dunbar develops his theme in the traditional chronological manner, discussing the distinct geographical conditions of the contiguous western states, all of that vast area west of the eastern boundaries of the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma and Texas, to introduce his theme. The first settlers in this arid region immediately recognized the overwhelming need, because of the geographical conditions, to develop new schemes for water usage and legal controls for the water. The book relates their efforts to accomplish this and many of the ramifications involved.

Of particular interest to Wyomingites, and significant to understanding water management throughout the West, are the chapters dealing with the development of the Wyoming system of water management and control, and the diffusion of the basic elements of the system to other western states. Elwood Mead, the first Wyoming Territorial Engineer and State Engineer, is credited with being the father of the Wyoming system, which declared water to be public property and placed its management under an administrative board, rather than in the courts as had been first done in the western territories and states. Mead's role and contributions to national water policy, after his

departure from Wyoming, are noted throughout the text.

The book explores the involvement of the federal government with western water resources, both positively and negatively. The development of a national reclamation policy, beginning with federal surveys of western lands, the enactment by Congress of the Desert Land Act, the Carey Act, and the Reclamation Act of 1902 is traced. The federal government's part in developing rights to interstate waters in the west, first through litigation in the federal court system, and then through a leadership role, resulting in the many compacts which divide the waters of interstate streams and rivers is analyzed at length. Nor does the book neglect the current relationships between the western states and the federal government, the concerns of the states with recent federal assertions to rights in western waters.

Forging New Rights in Western Waters is must reading for Westerners who have concerns about the West's most precious resource, water. Our future depends upon its careful management.

JAMES DONAHUE

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Women of the West. By Cathy Luchetti in collaboration with Carol Olwell. (St. George, Utah: Antelope Island Press, 1982). Appendix. Chronology. Footnotes. Bibliography. Photographic sources. 240 pp. \$25.00.

Women of the West is a tribute to the ordinary wife, mother and pioneer woman who contributed significantly to western settlement. This work does not chronicle the Jessie Benton Fremonts or the Narcissa Whitmans, but rather the common women whose stories have been told only in brief lines and passages.

Keeping a low editorial profile, Luchetti and Olwell have utilized letters, diaries and a vast selection of photographs to document the lives of eleven of these women and lift them from the shadows and obscurity of unrecorded history.

The photographs tell the truth of the westward migration. It stares out at the reader through the squinting eyes of gaunt, sunburned faces that reflect the hardships these women endured with patience and fortitude. These are not the faces of the famous or the infamous, but portraits of the everyday women who came West in search of their own dreams or in support of their husband's quest for a new and better life.

Each woman portrayed in this book is able to touch the audience with her feelings of fatigue, trauma, failed expectations. As well, there were the bright happy times of excitement and gaiety. Through each woman's individual words we are transported back in time to the covered wagon and the soddie house on the prairie. We are with her as she "aids the sick, delivers the babies and buries the dead. Her stock of folk remedies is complete and her value inestimable."

There is particular emphasis on minority women — Native Americans, Blacks, Chinese and Japanese. Luchetti's research sadly reveals that "first-hand material from these women is rare. They were often illiterate and seldom encouraged by their cultures to record their thoughts. Like all women who came West, they were challenged by the times and did what they could to survive." Their problems were even more remarkable than those of their white sisters due to language barriers and ethnic discrimination.

Women of the West is lavishly illustrated with over 140 meticulously chosen photographs that not only enhance the text, but in many ways surpass it. They stand as the record of an era and speak as a silent agency bringing to light women's role in building a new empire on the distant borderlands of the frontier. Olwell is to be commended on the excellent selection of prints that along with Luchetti's text, allows us to view the westward migration in its blunt reality.

This work serves as a well deserved tribute that will give the audience a new sense of appreciation for the pioneer women in the western march for settlement.

THELMA CROWN

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Men of the Steel Rails: Workers on the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad, 1869-1900. By James H. Ducker. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983). Index, Bib., Illus., 220 pp. \$17.95.

In *Men of the Steel Rails* author James H. Ducker, a historian with the Bureau of Land Management in Alaska, presents a remarkably vivid portrait of the common men who people the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad in the final third of the 19th century. Corporate histories of railroads like the Santa Fe abound, but until now no one has cared to give but a cursory glance to those thousands of workers who built and maintained these roads, switched the cars, fired the engines, or sweated in the shops. Nor for that matter has it been possible to appreciate the varied sacrifices of the families left behind when their railroadmen were called back for extra duty, Sunday work, or to those seemingly countless other absences standard to the occupation.

Ducker tells of this and more with ease. Although he is especially adept at telling about the common railroader, like " 'Dad' McKanna passing out cigars when his repaired engine emerged from the shop, Jack Meierdick's daily trek between the Florence station and his rural farm, Tom Foley's drinking spree and 'El Paso Special,' and George Hill's sacrifice of a promotion to a passenger run in order to have more time with his family," *Men of the Steel Rails* is as much a comprehensive examination of the many other factors and influences bearing on the lot of these dedicated workers. He analyzes the lure of railroading; Santa Fe's recruitment, discipline, and paternalistic policies; railroad towns; the Brotherhood movement; and early employee related strikes. The sum is an engrossing and unique look at railwaymen's lives, and an in-depth consideration of labor relations in the late 19th century.

Conclusions will logically be drawn from *Men of the Steel Rails* to be applied to the workers of America's other great railroads, particularly the transcontinentals. Alas, as yet there are no comparable comprehensive studies of the thousands of Chinese who built the Central Pacific Railroad, or the uniquely diverse crews who toiled on the early Union Pacific. Until these needed examinations appear, Ducker's book will stand alone, serving as an important measure for all future works in the field.

PAUL L. HEDREN

The reviewer is the National Park Service historian at Golden Spike National Historic Site, Promontory, Utah.

Atlas of the Lewis & Clark Expedition. (The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Volume 1). Edited by Gary E. Moulton. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983). Bibliographical References. List of Maps. 23 p. [151] p. of plates, including 134 maps. Cloth, \$100.00; \$85.00 when a standing order is placed for all future volumes in the series.

On May 14, 1804, Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark left the area that is now St. Louis with an expedition force of approximately 50 men and embarked on the first, and one of the most successful, government explorations. The expedition force explored the lands of the Louisiana Purchase, traced the Missouri River to its source, crossed the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River and the Pacific Coast, and returned to St. Louis on September 23, 1806. During the 28 months of the expedition, Lewis, Clark and four enlisted men gathered, compiled, and recorded a wealth of material and information. The maps of the expedition's outbound and inbound routes represent a major portion of the six men's efforts. Clark, the principal cartographer, drew the maps with great care and accuracy from direct observations and reports of Indians and fur traders along the way. These maps are contained in the *Atlas of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, the first volume of the new edition of *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, a projected eleven volume set.

It has been almost 80 years since *The Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, were published in 1904-05. The need for a new edition of the journals has been realized for some time due to advances in editorial and publishing techniques and much new manuscript material that has been uncovered since Thwaites' edition. This new edition will bring together all of this material in its entirety and correct order.

Gary E. Moulton, editor, has compiled an atlas that is a complete and definitive set of maps produced on the expedition, accompanied by maps produced before and after the expedition. The *Atlas* is a collection of high quality, map facsimiles — 115 of the maps were photographed directly by the printer. The volume contains 129 historical maps, 42 never before published. Of these, 34 are accurate copies of Clark's maps that represent about 900 miles of the expedition. The size of the *Atlas* (13.5 inches x 19.5 inches) permits 118 of the maps to be reproduced at their full, original size. In two instances, in addition to the individual maps, a mosaic of maps has been created, photographed, and reduced and provides a small-scale, composite map of a particular region during the expedition.

Five new reference maps were drawn for the *Atlas*. Two show the entire outbound and inbound routes of the expedition and three serve as map indexes to the entire

historic map collection. A north arrow and the dates of the expedition are provided for each route map on every page.

The eleven page introduction, which contains 142 annotated notes and references, provides an excellent overview and cartographic history of the expedition. The "Calendar of Maps" is a complete listing of the 134 maps in the volume and provides the date of the map, the size, a brief description, the abbreviation of the collection where the original map is located (The seven abbreviations and complete name and location of the collections are listed at the beginning of the "Calendar"), and references to the corresponding map number in the Thwaites' edition, when applicable.

The only flaw, and it is a minor one, pertains to sixteen maps, each covering two pages. Some detail and continuity from one page to the next is lost due to the binding.

This atlas is a beautiful and well-constructed volume, using quality paper and binding. It will prove to be an essential reference tool for any library or individual interested in the American West or Lewis and Clark. It is highly recommended for all academic libraries and all but the smallest of public libraries. However, as mentioned above, it is an essential purchase well worth the price for any size library that has a collection on the American West.

JAMES WALSH

The reviewer is the Maps/Documents Librarian at Coe Library, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

"Cheyenne, Cheyenne, . . ." Our Blue-Collar Heritage. By Gladys Powelson Jones. (Cheyenne: Frontier Printing, Inc., 1983) Maps, Illus. Index. Bib. 220 pp. \$11.55

Area history has matured from the fad and trend stage and is now a serious discipline, regarded with deserved respect by scholars and researchers alike. When no less a prestigious organization like the American Association for State and Local History publishes a "how to" book on local history, one senses that area history is an accepted approach to the permanent chronicling of our nation's past.

Gladys Powelson Jones has admirably accomplished this in *"Cheyenne, Cheyenne, . . ." Our Blue-Collar Heritage*. It is, in short, the story of the south side of Cheyenne — an area where the residents of the state's capital lived, played, worked, laughed, sorrowed and were educated. Mrs. Jones, who migrated from North Dakota in 1921 to live in south Cheyenne has recorded with remarkable clarity and understanding the lifestyle of a younger

and saucier city. She admires and respects the past of that portion of the city, but manages to do so without undue sentimentality or maudlin-colored verbiage.

Perhaps one of the most outstanding aspects of her story is that she has captured the concept of "neighborhood" that once existed in Cheyenne and other cities of similar size. Each area of towns all throughout America had neighborhood grocers, milliners, laundries, dairies and other such shops. There were fire stations, sometimes serving as the social center of the neighborhood. These town areas or geographic precincts also had churches, dutifully attended by close-by residents and also serving as social centers.

The author also acknowledges the rich ethnic composition of south Cheyenne, where Blacks, Scandinavians, Germans, Japanese, Greeks, Hispanics and Germans from Russia all lived side by side, working to educate their children and working to insure that life in the new country was indeed a dream-come-true.

Thorough research is the foundation of the book, and all the information in it is as accurate as documents and oral interviews can guarantee. It stands as a solid history of a portion of Cheyenne. Just the same, it has been written with a sense of humor and the anecdotal material is just as relevant to the book as the scholarly work that went into it. It is this reviewer's firm conviction that Mrs. Jones believes that history should be enjoyable. She has succeeded admirably in her work.

Also evident, is her respect for education and educators — and Wyoming has produced some remarkable individuals in this area. While the Equality State may exist in isolated grandeur, its people are by no means ignorant or unaware of the world in which they live. Our literacy, ability to perceive and retain are second to none, and we in Wyoming can stand toe to toe with savants from anywhere. Gladys Powelson Jones has obviously enjoyed a good education in the Cheyenne school system and is cognizant of the fine experience she had. Again, she delivers proper kudos without mawkishness or syrupy nostalgia. She simply recognizes superior educators in a system that produced fine contributing young people for its community.

It is a good read. Perhaps, it can be used as a format by aspiring authors who want to write about their town — or their part of town. It was hard work for Mrs. Jones. But again, she believes history should be enjoyable and it is easy to see that she enjoyed her task.

WILLIAM H. BARTON

The reviewer is Editor of Annals of Wyoming.

Overland to California in 1859: A Guide for Wagon Train Travelers. Compiled and edited by Louis M. Bloch, Jr. (Bloch and Company, Cleveland, Ohio, 1983.) Index and Illustrations. 64 pages. Cloth, \$9.95.

Initially considering this collection of excerpts from five mid-19th century publications, this reviewer thought the editor might have intended this assemblage for those to whom it was dedicated: ". . . to those unsung heroes [sic] and heroines, the horses, mules and oxen. . . ." (Dedication) However, further reflection revealed some — not many, but some — redeeming qualities, among a host of the other kind.

The apparent purpose of these vignettes was to acquaint the reader with the ordeal ahead of our hearty pioneers who sought to traverse the awesome Great Plains, mountains and deserts separating civilization east of the Mississippi from the wondrous California and Oregon. The four month overland journey was fraught with danger from countless sources and the chances of success were exponentially enhanced by knowledgeable preparation, about which the book is intended to initiate the reader.

The book extracted material from Captain Randolph B. Marcey's *The Prairie Traveler*, (1859) dealing with choosing a route, organization of a company, supplies and clothing, camping, litters, marching, camp selection and protection, river fording, Indians and Indian fighting. Edward Everett Hale's *Kansas and Nebraska*, (sic) (1854), was quoted for a description of those areas and Utah described in either the editor's own words or from excerpts from *States and Territories of the Great West*, (1856), which the editor claims to quote but, no reference was observed by this reviewer. The *Annals of San Francisco and the History of California*, was cited for a description of the discovery of gold in that area and its consequences.

Lack of footnotes and only sufficient source documentation to keep the perpetrators innocent of blatant plagiarism, disqualify this manuscript as any serious piece of resource material. The prints and maps were mentioned in the preface as coming from the aforementioned four books but, there was no clue as to which. Drawings could have come from anywhere and two of the primary sources apparently had no author. Punctuation was casual at best. Advertisements were reproduced from *The United States Commercial Register*, (1852). There was included a brief index.

Beginning students of history could benefit from the material and the brevity of the passages might serve a motivated teacher as a stimulus for classroom discussion or more detailed group or individual research. It could also serve as an example of improper and/or non-existent documentation.

BERNICE SWARTZ

The reviewer is an educator at Pioneer Park School in Cheyenne.

Kings of the Hill: Power and Personality in the House of Representatives. By Richard B. Cheney and Lynne V. Cheney (New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1983). Index. Bibliography. Notes. Illustrations. 226 pp. \$14.95.

Strong leadership in as large and unwieldy an institution as the U.S. House of Representatives is never easy, and oftentimes impossible. However, in *Kings of the Hill*, Richard and Lynne Cheney chronicle the careers of eight representatives who did manage to build and maintain coalitions in the House, thus enabling them to control it for a time.

All of the eight representatives had a direct influence on the evolution of power in the House. Henry Clay transformed the position of Speaker of the House from a ceremonial post into a power center which he used "to propel the country" into the War of 1812. By the 1830s, when James K. Polk became speaker, strong political parties had formed and Polk used his position to accomplish the goals set by President Andrew Jackson. Although Thaddeus Stevens never became speaker, he gathered enough power as chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee which enabled him to pose a formidable challenge to President Andrew Johnson, which the Cheneys believe, almost altered our form of government. The speaker from 1869-1875, James G. Blaine, who was not hesitant "about using the speakership to work his legislative will," wanted to become president, but was tainted by the charge of "financial dishonor."

Joe Reed, speaker from 1889-1891, and 1895-1899, brought about with his knowledge of rules and proceedings, "the most revolutionary changes ever accomplished in the institution's way of doing business." The most powerful speaker, "Uncle" Joe Cannon (1903-1911), witnessed the speakership grow weaker and weaker, and by the time he left the House, "the office that had made him famous was as powerless as it had been in the nation's

beginnings." Nicholas Longworth (1925-1931), however, reversed the decline begun by Joe Cannon and restored the speakership to its previous powerful position. Finally, *Kings of the Hill* details the importance of Sam Rayburn's tenure as speaker. Under Rayburn, the House voted to expand the Rules Committee, and although this did not increase the speaker's power, "it would eventually make the house less able to prevent liberal administrations from having theirs." According to the Cheneys, Lyndon Johnson's Great Society would not have been possible without this change.

Kings of the Hill tells the fascinating story of the inner-workings of the House of Representatives by focusing on eight strong leaders. The Cheneys then go on to lament the lack of strong leadership or centralized power in the House today, and see this as the main problem confronting the institution. "Today's Congress members find it extremely difficult to say no to interest groups that besiege them. Political action committees and propaganda machines make it even more difficult for them than for their predecessors, and there is no strong leadership to ease the burden." The authors, however, have not lost hope entirely. They believe that some members, who are frustrated by the institution, yet also love it, will attempt to control it, "and some few will succeed."

After each chapter there are bibliographies and notes sections. The notes are somewhat unusual in that they are not marked in the text and are only listed by page number in the notes section. This, however, does not detract from this enjoyable, well-written book about an institution which too often is disregarded in discussions of the leadership of our nation.

RICK EWIG

The reviewer is Senior Historian for Archives, Museums & Historical Department.

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GAY DAY ALCORN is a native of Saratoga and descended from pioneers of that area. A graduate of the University of Wyoming, Alcorn is a writer, and actively collects books and manuscripts pertinent to the history of the South Platte Valley. Her book, *Tough County: The History of the Saratoga and Encampment Valley, 1825-1895* was recently released. She has traveled to London, Edinburgh and Mexico to conduct research. Her memberships include the Saratoga Historical and Cultural Association, Wyoming State Historical Society, Grand Encampment Museum and the Jacques Laramie Chapter of the DAR.

WALTER R. JONES is a librarian and Head of the Western Americana Division, Special Collections Department at the Marriott Library at the University of Utah. Previously, he served for six years as head of the Uinta County Library in Evanston and as Reference Librarian at the Natrona County Library in Casper. His book *Sand Bar* was published in 1981 and his article, "Casper's Prohibition Years," was published in the Spring, 1976 issue of *Annals of Wyoming*. He was a witness to the rapid social and economic change that took place in Evanston due to oil exploration and he feels this has given him an appreciation of the dynamics of such a phenomenon.

ROBERT G. ROSENBERG is a historian and office director of Cultural Research and Management, Inc. Prior to this, he served as the Review and Compliance historian at the State Historic Preservation Office and was for a number of years, librarian at the University of Northern Colorado and Boulder city libraries. His article, "The Dempsey-Hockaday Trail" was published in *Annals of Wyoming* in 1982. Rosenberg's interests include many outdoor activities including backpacking, hunting, mountain climbing and traversing historic trails.

WILLIAM L. HEWITT is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Wyoming. He has taught in Colorado and New Mexico public schools. He is the author of "Mexican Workers in Wyoming During World War II: Necessity, Discrimination and Protest," an article published in the Fall, 1982 issue of *Annals of Wyoming*.

STEVEN C. SCHULTE is a graduate student at the University of Wyoming currently finishing work on his Ph.D. in history. He has taught at Dakota Wesleyan University in Mitchell, South Dakota. His article titled "Congressman E. Y. Berry and the Origins of Indian Termination," will be published in a forthcoming issue of *South Dakota History*. He is an active member of numerous organizations including the Wyoming State Historical Society, Western History Association, Western Social Science Association and the Organization of American Historians.

WYOMING STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Wyoming State Historical Society was organized in October, 1953. Membership is open to anyone interested in history. County chapters of the society have been chartered in most of the twenty-three counties of Wyoming. Past presidents of the society include: Frank Bowron, Casper, 1953-55; William L. Marion, Lander, 1955-56; Dr. DeWitt Dominick, Cody, 1956-57; Dr. T. A. Larson, Laramie, 1957-58; A. H. MacDougall, Rawlins, 1958-59; Mrs. Thelma G. Condit, Buffalo, 1959-60; E. A. Littleton, Gillette, 1960-61; Edness Kimball Wilkins, Casper, 1961-62; Charles Ritter, Cheyenne, 1962-63; Neal E. Miller, Rawlins, 1963-65; Mrs. Charles Hord, Casper, 1965-66; Glenn Sweem, Sheridan, 1966-67; Adrian Reynolds, Green River, 1967-68; Curtiss Root, Torrington, 1968-69; Mrs. Hattie Burnstad, Worland, 1969-70; J. Reuel Armstrong, Rawlins, 1970-71; William R. Dubois, Cheyenne, 1971-72; Henry F. Chadey, Rock Springs, 1972-73; Richard S. Dumbrell, Newcastle, 1973-74; Henry Jensen, Casper, 1974-75; Jay Brazelton, Jackson, 1975-76; Ray Pendergraft, Worland, 1976-77; David J. Wasden, Cody, 1977-78; Mabel Brown, Newcastle, 1978-79; James June, Green River, 1979-80; William F. Bragg, Jr., Casper, 1980-81; Don Hodgson, Torrington, 1981-82; Clara Jensen, Lysite-Casper, 1982-83.

Membership information may be obtained from the Executive Headquarters, Wyoming State Historical Society, Barrett Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming 82002. Dues in the state society are:

Life Membership	\$100
Joint Life Membership (husband and wife)	\$150
Annual Membership	\$5
Joint Annual Membership (two persons of same family at same address)	\$7
Institutional Membership	\$10

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ANNALS of WYOMING

Volume 56, Number 2
Fall, 1984

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ABOUT THE COVER—Piegan Blackfeet Chief Mehksehem-Sukas (Iron Shirt) was painted in watercolor by artist Karl Bodmer, when the young Swiss visited the American West in 1833-1834. Bodmer traveled with his patron, the Prussian Prince Maximillian, from St. Louis as far west and north as Montana. During the journey, he made many sketches and watercolors, sometimes taking an entire day to complete a single portrait. In the midst of 20,000 Blackfeet, Bodmer painted portraits and a depiction of an attack on Fort McKenzie by a large force of Assiniboin and Cree Indians. The Europeans abandoned the hostile Rockies for Fort Clark, North Dakota, where they spent the winter. Bodmer continued his work and became the last white artist to record the Mandan tribe before a terrible smallpox epidemic decimated their numbers some years later. Working under circumstances so adverse that his paints often froze, Bodmer continued to make sketches of Indian ceremonies and life-styles. They constitute a superb ethnological document and have been used for research by scholars and artists since they appeared as full color prints in 1839. Bodmer never returned to America, and at the time of his death in 1893, his Indian engravings were forgotten by the French Barbizon school near Paris where he had spent the greater part of his professional years. The cover illustration and the paintings accompanying "The Gros Ventre and the Upper Missouri Fur Trade 1806-1835" are courtesy of the Inter-North Art Foundation/Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska. ANNALS OF WYOMING is grateful for the courtesy and cooperation of that fine institution.

ANNALS of WYOMING

Volume 56, No. 2
Fall, 1984

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ANNALS OF WYOMING is published biannually in the Spring and Fall by the Wyoming State Press. It is received by all members of the Wyoming State Historical Society as the official publication of that organization. Copies of previous and current issues may be purchased from the Editor. Correspondence should be addressed to the Editor. Published articles represent the views of the author and are not necessarily those of the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department or the Wyoming State Historical Society. ANNALS OF WYOMING articles are abstracted in Historical Abstracts. America: History and Life.

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The Other Thornburgh

by
Charles S. McCammon

While commander at Fort Fred Steele, Major Thomas Tipton Thornburgh's star rose briefly over Wyoming, flickered weakly and died. His death September 29, 1879, in a Ute Indian ambush at Milk Creek, Colorado, and his leadership of one of the several unsuccessful field commands sent to halt the return of Dull Knife and Little Wolf's Northern Cheyennes to their homeland, assured that his name would be recorded in the western legend book.¹ On the other hand, his older brother, Jacob Montgomery Thornburgh, spent more time in Wyoming and passed practically unnoticed. Hero of the Civil War, a courageous, non-partisan attorney general in the disruptive, often violent, post-war East Tennessee and a three-term Congressman, Jake became an intimate friend of Judge William A. Carter of Fort Bridger, and a hunting companion of General George Crook.² For at least four years he traveled to Wyoming to seek restored health.

At the outbreak of the Civil War the 25-year-old Thornburgh had been practicing law for two years in his hometown of New Market, Jefferson County, Tennessee. His father, Montgomery Thornburgh, a district attorney general and three-term senator in the Tennessee Legislature, fought so strongly to keep his state in the Union that, after Tennessee seceded, he was arrested as a political prisoner and sent to Macon, Georgia, where he died.³ Soon after his father's arrest, Jake, like thousands of other loyal East Tennesseans, slipped through the Confederate lines into Kentucky where he enlisted in May, 1862, as a private in the Union Army. In the fall of 1862, he was released from duty to assist Colonel R. M. Edwards in recruiting volunteers for the First East Tennessee Cavalry, which eventually became the Fourth Regiment, Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry. Jake was elected Lieutenant Colonel and when Edwards' commission was denied, he assumed command of the Fourth. Although the regiment had a full complement of companies, it reportedly lacked the total number of men needed to entitle Thornburgh to the rank of full colonel. He led the Fourth in the campaigns of Rousseau, Sherman, Thomas and Canby. Following the battle of Okalona, Mississippi, in the winter of 1864, he acted as a brigade commander. In the summer of 1864, during the Alabama raid of General Rousseau, he replaced his uncle, Colonel Duff G. Thornburgh, as a commander, First Brigade, Fourth Cavalry Division, and for a short time had to assume command of the Fourth Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Cumberland. The Fourth raided and scouted in eight states, marching over 30,000 miles.

While recruiting volunteers for the Fourth, Jake had met Martha Adaline Smith of Madisonville, Tennessee. He continued to slip through the enemy lines to visit Miss Smith. However, the Confederates learned of his courtship and a squad was assigned to capture him. In this they were successful but before he could be taken to prison he was left in a room alone with Alf Swann. Jake managed to catch Swann off guard and seizing his revolver, he told

Swann that he would kill him on the spot unless he was given back his horse and a ten minute start; that it was not cricket to capture a man when he was courting and not fighting.⁴ Jake escaped and he and Ada were married on May 10, 1864. She joined him in Nashville where the Fourth was stationed and joined the other army wives who followed their husbands on campaigns.

The Tennessee federal volunteer troops were orphans; their state had joined the Confederacy and they had no state government to support them. Few of the regimental commanders had prior military experience. Jake fought through the war as the Fourth's commander with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. He was considered a stern disciplinarian, an unusual characteristic among these Tennessee volunteers. However, after a battle he was said to have attended the wounded, both Yankee and Rebel, with the gentleness and kindness of a woman⁵. He received four minor battle wounds and injuries.

Following the Rousseau-Alabama raid in 1864, Thornburgh served as a Judge Advocate, not rejoining his regiment until the battle of Mobile, April, 1865.⁶

At the close of the war, President Johnson offered Thornburgh a Regular Army commission as a Major in the Seventh U.S. Cavalry which he declined to return to his law practice. In 1866, he was appointed Attorney General, Third Judicial Circuit Court of East Tennessee, the position held by his father at the outbreak of the war. He was reelected to this position in 1868 and 1870. Although a strong Republican, he earned the reputation as an honest, courageous, non-partisan jurist, who through his just dealings did much to restore peace in one of the most turbulent post-war districts. When he ran and won the election as U.S. Congressman from the Second District in 1872, he received strong Democratic support. The latter party in Monroe County, a Confederate stronghold, wrote him in 1872;

By a bold, fearless and conscientious course in the firm and impartial discharge of the onerous duties of your important and responsible position and by your influence for good otherwise exerted, you, forgetting the passions and prejudices of the times, and standing sometimes almost unsupported, and often in personal danger, did more to calm the stormy passions of the times, bring order out of confusion and restore good feeling between the Union men and the ex-Rebel, than any other man in our community.⁷

In those few communities where his life was threatened, whenever he spoke, he had two revolvers on the rostrum before him. In a letter to Laura Pettibone he tried cautiously to warn her that he might be forced to kill a man to protect himself.⁸ In the campaign of 1872, he was given the name "The Little Giant." He sought and was reelected to Congress in 1874 and 1876.

A year before Jake was first seated in Congress, Ada died, February 23, 1872, as the result of a compounded drug prescription in which morphine had mistakenly been substituted for quinine⁹ leaving Jake with a motherless six-year-old daughter. Almost immediately President Grant



Postmaster General Key party prior to departure for Cheyenne. Front row, R to L: D. M. Key, Mrs. Key, Mrs. James, Mrs. S. A. Key, Mrs. J. E. White, Miss Emma Key, Mrs. Pierson. Second row, R to L: F. W. Palmer, Master Palmer, Miss Kate Key, Mrs. J. M. Thornburgh, Capt. J. E. White, E. S. Bean, Cal Chase. Third row, R to L: Dr. David Day, Gov. Pillsbury, Mr. Hendley, Capt. S. A. Key, John Jameson, Capt. Patton, Dr. A. Kirth.

appointed Congressman-elect Thornburgh as a U.S. Commissioner to the International Exposition in Vienna. During the 1873 European trip, his daughter, Maggie, lived with his sister, Mrs. John Minnis. The Thornburgh family has retained the many letters written by a lonely, loving father to his daughter.

It was during his second term in Congress that Thornburgh met Laura Emma Pettibone, a native of the District of Columbia. They were married April 29, 1875. To this second marriage were born: Thomas Montgomery (died 1878), Ann Elizabeth, John Minnis and Laura.

The Jefferson County Thornburghs were lovers of the outdoors, always having good horses and hunting dogs, being skilled with rifle, shotgun and fishing rod. It was this skill that attracted General Crook to young Major Thomas Tipton Thornburgh, Jake's younger brother. On a hunt with Tip Thornburgh during the first week of September, 1878, John Bourke recorded: "After supper Major Thornburgh, one of the finest rifle shots in America, hit with a rifle, five times in succession, a condensed milk can which Lt. Spencer threw up in the air for him to shoot at, and also knocked into kingdom come a five cent nickel, under the same circumstances." Tip told Bourke, who had been two years behind him at West Point, that the men in his home, shooting locally made rifles, generally would

hit a silver dime bull's-eye three times out of five hundred yards.¹⁰

Tip became Crook's protégé and it was through this relationship that Jake met the general. Crook letters to Jacob Thornburgh began in September 1879. Most probably they met during the summer in Wyoming, as Bourke reported that Crook was near Fort Fred Steele, where Tipton had assumed command on July 7, 1878.¹¹ Congressman and Mr. Thornburgh were traveling in Wyoming in August and September, 1878.

A few months after the death of their first son, a ten month-old Thomas, Congressman and Mr. Thornburgh accepted an invitation to accompany Postmaster General David McKendree Key and his rather large party on an extensive railroad tour of the West. Mr. Key, a lawyer from Chattanooga, Tennessee, had opposed seceding from the Union, but after his state joined the Confederacy, he served the Rebel cause with distinction as a colonel. After the war he was a leader in the conservative element and did much to restore unity in Tennessee as a chancery court judge. Upon the death of President Andrew Johnson, then back in Washington, a senator, Key was appointed to the Senate to finish Johnson's term.

The inclusion of the Thornburghs in the party may have been a conciliatory gesture. Jake had supported his old friend, Congressman Horace Maynard, as the southerner for Hayes' cabinet. Key had strongly supported another man in the Republican primary preceding Jake's reelection in 1876. Possibly Hayes, who by now had become pleased with, and a friend of his postmaster general, may have been involved. Jake was one of the several congressmen selected by President Grant to investigate the Hayes-Tilden election dispute and only a year earlier had been instrumental in getting the President to include Knoxville in his tour of southern cities.¹³ Or, perhaps, Jake had already announced that he did not plan to run for reelection in the fall.

On Friday evening, August 30, 1878, the Cheyenne paper, *The Daily Sun*, reported that Congressman Thornburgh and Dr. Baxter,¹⁴ members of the Key party, would leave the group at Carter Station for a couple of days of fishing near Fort Bridger and would rejoin the party at Ogden after their visit to Salt Lake City. The *Sun* also reported that on the return [from San Francisco] the party would stop at Fort Steele for a "grand hunt." Major Thornburgh was to be assigned by Crook to look after the party.¹⁵

Bourke, enroute from Salt Lake City to Omaha, August 29 or 30, 1878, reported receiving a telegram from Thornburgh asking him to go with him on the train as far as Hazard, Wyoming, to meet his brother and the Key party. At Fort Steele, the Fourth Infantry band with the officers and ladies of the fort greeted the group at the railroad station.¹⁶

The Thornburghs stopped at Fort Steele on their return trip, but there is no record in the Post Returns of Tip's detail to a hunting party. He did, however, leave on September 13, 1878, to chase Dull Knife and Little Wolf and undoubtedly missed the hunt with his brother.

Remarkable as it may seem, while Thornburgh, with Bourke as an observer, was taking to the field to try to intercept the Northern Cheyennes, Crook was departing from Omaha on September 23, 1878, to go hunting. Lieutenant Schyler and Webb Hayes accompanied him and they picked up John Collins in Cheyenne.¹⁷ It would appear that the general included Congressman Thornburgh in this hunt out of Fort Steele.

The *Knoxville Daily Chronicle* reported the return of J.M. and Mrs. Thornburgh on November 2, 1878, from their visit to Wyoming Territory and Fort Fred Steele. The congressman and his party had killed eleven elk one morning before breakfast and two more later in the day. In addition, they had taken deer, mountain sheep, grouse and wild geese. (The elk head that hung for several decades in the Knoxville B.P.O.E., Lodge 160, was one contributed by Thornburgh.)

Space does not permit a review of the history of Fort Bridger. However, it should be noted that between June, 1878, and June, 1880, Bridger was truly "Carter's Fort"

as no troops occupied this facility during this period.

Jake Thornburgh seems to have met Judge Carter in August, 1878, when he and Dr. Baxter left the Key party at Carter Station to go fishing while the others visited Salt Lake City. The Ogden and Salt Lake City papers do not list them among the visitors although their wives were present. One assumes that Jake's service at Mobile under Judge Carter's dear friend, General Canby, helped open the door for the friendship between the two men. Canby had honored the Fourth Tennessee Cavalry by selecting them as the first Union troops to enter Mobile. It is impossible to imagine Thornburgh and Baxter in Bridger without visiting that genial, southern host. A letter from Baxter dated July 12, 1879, to Jake at Fort Steele leaves little doubt that the two had met Carter. The doctor concluded his letter with "You must go and see Judge Carter."¹⁸

As noted above, by July, 1879, former Congressman Thornburgh was back in Wyoming and he would remain there almost continuously until late November, a practice that would be followed until Judge Carter's death. The reason given for the extended stays was to regain his health "in the bracing summer climate of the Rocky Mountains." His letters, most newspaper reports and even Bourke's diary are filled with references to his poor health. However, no place is there recorded a reliable hint of the type of illness he was experiencing. His loving, concerned letters to his oldest daughter and his young second wife preclude one saying that he was escaping to a man's world. There is no question that, like Teddy Roosevelt and men of lesser stature, a stay in the West restored his zest for life. His home became filled with mounted heads and tanned hides. The Crook letters indicate that the general recognized a kindred spirit. At the same time one must recognize how Jake treasured the visits to his new friend, Carter.

On July 26, 1879, on the occasion of his wife's 23rd birthday (Jake was off one day), Thornburgh reported that he was at Carter's, was ill and had come over from Fort Steele on July 25, apparently seeking the better accommodations at the Carter's. He reported, ". . . one of Judge Carter's daughters married Dr. Corson, an Asst. Surg. in the Army, who was visiting in Bridger and who was taking care of him . . . Judge Carter is just as kind as possible and the ladies (wife and daughters) seem as if they were sorry I do not need more attention. The Judge neglects his business to stay around and see if I do not need more attention." One wonders if the Judge regularly dosed him with his famous cure-all, Cook's Balm of Life? After birthday greetings, he concluded his letter, "You will find hereafter that they [the birthdays] will seem to come closer together. But the same time is given between each to labor for the right, to perform faithfully our part in the great drama of life, and to try to better and brighten this world by having lived in it."¹⁹



Judge William A. Carter

The Carters extended an invitation to Major and Mrs. Thornburgh and her sister to visit while Jake was in Bridger. On July 29, the Major replied, "Mrs. T. & Miss Clark think they would like to run up tomorrow night reaching Carter at 10 a.m. on Tuesday."²⁰ Apparently the people of Fort Steele thought no more of a quick trip to Bridger than present day residents of Cheyenne think of a day's shopping in Denver.

After recovering from his illness, Jake remained in Wyoming. The *Knoxville Chronicle* reported August 23, that he had improved in health and was on a hunting trip. On September 9, the paper reported on his improved health and that he was at Fort Steele. On September 6, 1879, Crook wrote from Oakland, Maryland:

No one regrets more than I do my inability to be with you on your hunt, but circumstances over which I could not control have been carrying me along, apparently without any definite object, ever since I last saw you, but I see very plainly I will be kept away from the hunt all the same. A thing I can't tell you how much I regret, as I have had my heart set on it during the past year & now I fear I will not be able to get a hunt at all this year. I am so delighted to hear your improvement in health. Tell your brother I have just received his letter-will tell him all about it when I see him. Please give my kindest regards to the folks—²¹

The general did get his hunt in 1879 as Bourke recorded that he hunted through Spotted Tail agencies to Rock Creek, Wyoming.²² On September 23, 1879, Crook wrote a brief note from Fort Omaha to forward a copy of the instruction he had sent to the commanding officer at Fort



Mary Eliza Carter

AMH PHOTOS

McKinney, regarding Thornburgh's proposed hunt. Jake may not have received this prior to his departure as he wrote Carter from Fort Steele on September 12, urging him to take a needed vacation and join him on the hunt stating that they would be leaving on September 20 or 21. "Our program is to first hunt in what is here called the Medicine Bow Range and from there into the mountains south of the Platte where it passes Fort Casper and Fetterman . . . We will go well prepared as we can take wagons the entire route." After wishing the judge well on his September cattle sale, he ended, "If you find it impossible to go with us, take the matter into consideration whether Willie²³ can not go. We would be very glad to have him along and he is enough of a nimrod to enjoy it. If I can induce my two friends from Tenn.²⁴ to take a short run with me on to Salt Lake after the hunt, I will stop over a day or two with you on my return. I am unwilling if I can avoid it not to see Bridger & the happy family there once more before going home." His letter was signed, "I am your friend."²⁵

Jake had engaged Taylor Pennock, one of the principal scouts at Fort Steele and when his friends, Sanford and Webb, arrived, he and Major Thornburgh departed on the fateful hunt from which Tip would be ordered to lead his command into Colorado to aid Indian Agent Meeker during the threatened Ute uprising. Jake and party with Pennock continued on the hunt. Tipton Thornburgh was killed on Milk Creek, Colorado, on September 29.

On October 3, Jake responded to Carter's letter of condolence.

. . . He met a soldier's fate at the head of his command while coolly, prudently and bravely discharging his duties. Certainly this is no inglorious ending of a soldier's life. I have, I think, too much of the soldier in me to so regard it. I am giving my attention to his family. I can do nothing for the dead but honor his memory, to the living I have duties which I shall try to discharge . . . My friends, Mr. E. J. Sanford & T. S. Webb left here last night for Salt Lake City. I desired they should know you and you them. Could I have gone with them I think they would have called and seen you. But being strangers to you I think they hesitated to visit you without me, though I conveyed your invitation to them. They stop at the Walker House where they will stay 2 or 3 days. If on their return, they should stop over to see you, I will meet them there unless something detains me here.²⁶

On October 14, 1879, the *Knoxville Daily Chronicle* reported, "E. J. Sanford and T. S. Webb returned home yesterday . . . 'leaving Jake at Fort Steele' . . . who was much improved in health, looking better than from years past. The camp life agrees with him and he will likely remain there, looking after the wants of his brother's family, till cold weather drives him home."

Bourke in Omaha was also devastated over the death of his friend, Tip Thornburgh. He entrained immediately for Rawlins to join the rescue unit bound for Milk Creek; Major Clark, Tip's father-in-law, was on the same train. On the train from Cheyenne bound for Fort Steele was Jake Thornburgh. Bourke recorded, "I avoided meeting him (as well as Clark) whose dejection was remarkable." Crook was in Chicago when news of the disaster reached him; he departed immediately for Omaha and Rawlins.²⁷

Jake accompanied his brother's body to Omaha for the funeral and burial after which he returned to Wyoming. In November, the *Chronicle* reported his return stating that he had killed a buffalo bull, three elk, four blacktailed deer and two antelope. On this late season hunt he had hunted alone much of the time except for the rancher he had employed to drive his camp wagon. Most of the hunt was in snow.

Some confusion exists on the hunts of 1878 and 1879. Collins in his book, *Across The Plains In '64*, reported that in early September, 1879, Crook with Ludington, Bourke, Congressman Thornburgh, Webb Hayes and Collins hunted in the Battle Creek Mountains and Grand Encampment 50 miles south of Fort Steele. This does not relate to the proceeding record of Thornburgh's 1879 season. The kill recorded by Collins more closely relates to that recorded in the *Chronicle* for the 1878 season. However, Bourke was hunting with Tip Thornburgh at the beginning of September, 1878, and was not with Crook at the end of the month. Bourke makes no reference to Ludington in Crook's party of late September, 1878. Thornburgh was no longer in office in 1879; references to him after 1878 are usually as Colonel Thornburgh. Collins recorded the members of the hunting party of the first week of October, 1878, as Crook, Schyler, Hayes, Collins, Capt. Bisbee with

two drivers, fifteen soldiers and one mule-mounted orderly.²⁸

On December 25, 1879, Thornburgh wrote a lengthy letter to Carter. "On my return from Washington to spend the Hollidays [sic] with my family, I found your very interesting letter of the 5th inst. on my table." The judge had been seriously ill and after expressing concern for his health, Thornburgh made a lengthy commitment to helping Carter and/or his family at any time. Continuing he wrote:

In Washington met the new Sect of War²⁹ with whom I was acquainted. Among other things I asked him why it was such an offense against the Govt. to kill an old blatherskite of an Indian agt and some laborers and that for this offense a demand for the surrender and trial of eleven indians had been demanded for 'making war' against the govt, killing some of the most promising of her officers and men . . . Of course, he gave no good answer—for none exists.

Jake promised to send Carter a copy of information that he picked up in Washington regarding the abandoning of certain western forts. After reporting on the health of his family, he added, "I took them to Chattanooga to visit friends. William A. Wheeler, Vice President is spending the hollidays [sic] there and I am invited to be there and meet him." He closed his letter with, "It is pleasant Christmas day's work to write to you and when I write to you I feel I am also writing to your noble wife and family. A Merry Christmas and Happy New Years to all at Bridger."³⁰

Thornburgh's reference to information regarding the closing of western forts is the only suggestion that Carter may have asked his help and influence in reopening or retention of Fort Bridger as a military base. If he had been asked, Thornburgh undoubtedly would have tried to help. Even while he was ill at the Carters in the summer of 1879, he was corresponding with his friend, Dr. J. H. Baxter, Chief Medical Purveyor, who was seeking promotion to the position of Surgeon General. Thornburgh even offered to leave Bridger to journey to Washington to help Baxter. At the same time he was soliciting Baxter's aid in getting a contract approved for a doctor at Fort Steele. Although he never ran again for public office, Jake remained an active Republican campaigner.

Thornburgh returned to Wyoming in 1880, carrying a copy of a letter written June 28, 1880, by A. Bell, Department of the Interior, to Colonel Norris, Superintendent of Yellowstone Park.

I learn that my old friend, Hon. J. M. Thornburgh, formerly in Congress from Tenn., intends to visit the Park sometime this season. If you should hear from him there, or meet him, do the best possible to make his visit enjoyable.

Thornburgh is one of the salt of the earth,—contains enough loyalty and patriotism in his personality to leaven the whole South. I commend him to your courtesy as a friend who never flinched in the presence of rebels and who will be equally at home among the grisslys [sic].³¹

On July 26, 1880, Crook wrote Thornburgh from Fort Omaha.

Yours of 23rd just rec. this morning, I am sorry you have left Bridger, as Bourke & I leave here day after tomorrow for Bridger to examine country between here & Uintah Agency. We expect to leave Ogden on the morning of the 11 of August for the Yellowstone Park & have made all arrangements for you to accompany us.³²

Crook's letter caught up with Jake at Fort Washakie and he retraced his trail to Fort Bridger arriving on August 9. The next day, Crook, Major Roberts, Colonel and Mrs. Stanton, Colonel Ludington, Colonel Thornburgh, Bourke, Governor and Mrs. Pound, escorted by Major Bisbee and Lieutenant Young of Fort Bridger, departed for Carter Station. The Carters must have been busy entertaining so many visitors. At Carter Station, the group caught the train for Ogden; Hayes, who had come to join the group, was on the train. At Ogden, they met Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz, and his party consisting of his two daughters, his private secretary, McHannis, McGaulieu of New York City, Tom Mayers, the secretary's nephew and others from Salt Lake City who had escorted them from Salt Lake City. Leaving the women and Gov. and Mrs. Pound, the combined group entrained on a special chair car for Ross Fork (Fort Hall). En route, they rejected a request from Sir John MacReid and his escort to join the party for Yellowstone.

At Fort Hall the group made a short stop enabling Schurz to hold a council with the Shoshone and Bannock Indians—and Bourke could fill numerous pages of ethno-

logical data in his journal. Jake, Ludington and Stanton probably used the delay as an excuse to go fishing because Bourke recorded that the three were maniacs on the subject of fishing.

Continuing on the train from Ross Fork, the party detrained at Beaver Canyon where they were met by Major Bainbridge, 14th Infantry, with a military escort. Tom Moore, Crook's favorite packer, was "master of transportation," in charge of an immense pack train. This was a strenuous trip due to the route, and the hunting and fishing. In camp they lived well, however, thanks to the generous provisions of Schurz.

Schurz was not a newcomer to gun and rod or the West. Both Hayes and Collins had hunted with him on earlier occasions and the President's son was there at the insistence of the Secretary, as well as Crook. Bourke recorded that Schurz ". . . is a very genial companion, puts on no airs whatever and exerts himself to make everything run smoothly. He is a wonderfully fine linguist . . . he is a good shot . . . he rides well."³³

One wonders if Jake Thornburgh changed his opinion of Schurz. In his Christmas letter of 1879 to Judge Carter, he stated, after the Secretary of War had asked him if he didn't want to talk to the Secretary of the Interior, ". . . he had no business with Mr. Schurz . . ." implying, it would appear, that Schurz was personally responsible for the Ute uprising.³⁴ Or, perhaps, Jake always strongly loyal to President Grant, had his partisan nose out of joint

PHOTO COURTESY RUTHERFORD B. HAYES LIBRARY, FREMONT, OHIO



"Five Terrors of the Wind River Range" at Fort Washakie in 1886. General George Crook is seated, and on his left is Webb Hayes, son of President Rutherford B. Hayes. Others, but in no confirmed order are, John Collins, A. E. Touzalin (Vice-president of the Santa Fe Railroad) and General T. H. Stanton.

because Schurz had deserted the party.

For some reason Jake remained with Bainbridge and the escort when Crook with Ludington, Stanton, Hayes and Bourke departed the Park on August 23, 1880, for Beaver Canyon.³⁵ This was an election year, and Jake was chairman of the local district Republican nominating committee and had to come home early. A dispatch dated September 4, 1880, from *The Laramie Times* to the *Knoxville Daily Chronicle* stated that Thornburgh had arrived and was staying at Thornburgh House, named after his brother. By September 27, he was in Knoxville and on October 20, 1880, in Roane County where the "Little Giant" received a strong ovation before he spoke.

Today, some would group these hunter-fishermen with other raiders, rapists, extractors of the natural resources of the Rocky Mountains. Others would give our eyeteeth to have accompanied them. For the professional soldiers, the hunts were an escape from the boredom of frontier duty. For men like Schurz, Thornburgh and others, it was not only an escape from the pressures of political life, but a return to one of the few rememberable pleasures of the Civil War—the comradeship of camp life. What an experience it must have been for the youthful Hayes to grow up under the tutelage of Crook. Undoubtedly, he would call upon these lessons when he commanded troops in Cuba and the Philippines.

According to Bourke, Crook made two hunts in 1880: the first to Yellowstone and the second near Rock Creek.³⁶ Following the second hunt the general wrote Thornburgh on November 28, 1880, from Fort Omaha.

I am very glad to get your letter & to learn of your improving health. I had feared your health had prevented your joining us or our hunt during early part of October. Your place at the "festive board" was vacant—also had a mule for you to hunt with.—We had a glorious time & fine success. We got 4 "bar" in one day. I hope if we live next year you will join us on a hunt. Mrs. Thornburgh & the Clarks³⁷ are quite well & seem to get along finely. Stanton, Luddington [sic], Bourke & Roberts write with me in much love to you.

No record has been uncovered to show that Thornburgh made another trip to Wyoming, although he received a lengthy newsy letter written on May 15, 1881, from Carter.

Your letter of the 17th April came some time ago and gives us all great pleasure. I should have answered sooner, but our house has been all to pieces, undergoing a course of thorough repairs, and the dust has been blowing about so much that I could never find a clean or quiet spot, where I could write with any satisfaction, besides I have had the most idle, worthless, and dishonest workmen to deal with, who had no object in view but to protract my work, and get as much out of my pocket as possible, for the very—amounts of labor. Knowing I would get nothing out of them without being present all the time I have had to be about from 5 o'clock in the morning and do more of the hard labor myself than any two of them. At night I have been so worn out with fatigue that it would have been difficult matter for me to have written my name. But I will not worry you, any further, with excuses. It is the Holy Sabbath, but still hear, in the dining room, the faint sound of a hammer, about every $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour, sounding the death knell of my money, and I am scarcely able to keep my temper long enough to write you a decent letter.

I am rejoicing that you have lately regained your health and hope, in the future, you will do nothing to cause the return of your malady.

You may rest assured, my friend, that while here, you never said or did anything which would possibly have given me or any member of my family affront. I always relied upon your judgement, and any advice you may have given was always accepted with gratitude and profit. Willie expects to return home shortly after 20th of June, the close of his first year at the University, and, I hope, has profited by the opportunity he has had.

So far, I think, he has gotten "honorable" in all his studies. But I fear he has picked up a few false notions, the outgrowth of an effeminate society but these, I hope can be rectified by a short association with practical men. He seems to be greatly anxious to return home and is looking forward with such great pleasure to the time of his departure from there.

Your friend, Mr. Baxter,³⁸ was here for several days, the guest of Lt. Young,³⁹ with whom he was previously acquainted. I was much pleased with him, but was so hard at work at the time that I had but little opportunity to talk with him except on the subject of cattle. He wished to purchase an interest in my herd on Stinking Water, but as I had made all my arrangements to send Peter McCulloch⁴⁰ back there with mowing machine, horse rake, plow, horses, tools and such supplies, I declined to sell or could not, after my arrangements with McC. even if had decided to do so. I gave him all the information I had in relation to cattle he might be able to purchase, and directed him to Abram Hatch, of Heber City, Utah, who had 2500 for sale. From here he went to Salt Lake City, and I requested him to write me from there and let me know whether he had met with any sellers. But I was informed by Liet Young, who seemed to be his principal advisor that he had gone back East, but he did not inform me what he had done, and his replies to my questions were so crusty that I did not press him. The park looks prettier than I have seen it any previous spring. The grass is now six inches high in the valley and all the trees clothed with a rich verdure.

Capt Bisbee⁴¹ has done a great deal to improve the old fort and its surroundings and you would be delighted to see it in its new dress. I have also made very many improvements, but they cost me much work and many a dollar. Among the improvements I have made are a new kitchen and a handsome fitting up of the old one for the family dining room. The ceiling of the old dining room has been raised and the whole newly plastered and we are putting in a big window which will give plenty of light.

I have done much on Black's and Smith's Fork in the early of spring and tomorrow start teams to haul my wood, almost 1,000 cords. McCullough started with his outfit day before yesterday.

We are expecting a number of visitors at the Park this summer. Genl [sic] Harney writes me that he will certainly be out. Dick Corson and wife, who expected to come here, will not come, but will go thru Yuma by the Southern route to Philadelphia.

I hope you will find time to visit us this season, as nothing would give us more pleasure to see you in full health. I have not been well for some time, but think my sickness results mainly from hard labor. As soon as I can get through with my building I am determined to take life easier.

Mrs. C. and the girls are well and join me in love to you and yours.⁴²

But Carter did not take life easier. Crook arrived soon after Carter had written his friend. The judge immediately became involved in the building of a road to the newly designated Fort Thornburgh near Uintah Agency over a route he had recommended to Crook. The *Ogden Morning Herald* reported on July 29, 1881, that Crook had departed after visiting and fishing at Bridger. Bourke recorded that

the general hunted in 1881, from Cheyenne to Medicine Bow.⁴³ On August 1, 1881, Crook wrote from Fort Omaha what would be the last letter found in the Thornburgh file.

I was at Bridger when I received your kind letter. I did not answer then because I had forgotten the date of your reunion. Subsequently I received order (in view of the Utes to be all removed to my Dept.) to return to my Head Quarter [sic] & there remain until Gen. Sheridan's return from the Yellowstone Park which he expects to be about the 10th of Sept. On the 14th of September I must be at the reunion of the Army of West Va. at Wheeling, if it is possible for me to get off, so as much as I would like to be with you will have to say no.

I have been spending a couple of weeks at Bridger, where we had a lively time. We often talked about you & wished you with us. Roberts & Stanton were with me part of the time. Mrs. Crook is at her home—will not return here until late in the fall. Bourke is absent in the Magnis Country writing up those Indians. Roberts, Luddington [sic] & Jack Pot Stanton send their love.⁴⁴

Carter became so involved in the road to Fort Thornburgh that he began to supervise the building of the road with his own men and equipment. He became ill in camp, and western Wyoming lost its most important pioneer on November 7, 1881, when he died at his home of pneumonia and/or pleurisy.

Jake Thornburgh had given up public office after three terms in Congress. He rejected "a very important appointment" tendered by President Hayes to remain at home. By 1881, he had another young daughter and son, named John Minnis, for his brother-in-law who had commanded the Third Tennessee Cavalry. Young John was born three days after Carter's death, and was to become his father's fishing companion before he was of school age.

Jake did not lose his interest in the West. In 1883, he submitted a bond to John W. Green, U.S. Commissioner, Eastern District of Tennessee for a license to trade with the Ute Indians of Ouray, Utah Territory. John W. Hugus, of Fort Fred Steele, and Thornburgh were partners. His friend, T.A. Webb and his law partner, Judge George Andrews, signed as sureties.⁴⁵

In May, 1883, Jake wrote his daughter, Maggie, that he would be leaving for the West in July. The *Knoxville Daily Chronicle* noted his return on September 5, 1883. Was Jake in Wyoming pursuing his plan for a license to trade with the Utes? If so, did he join Crook on his hunt south of Fort Bridger? Possibly Walter S. Schuyler's papers in the Huntington Library or a rescreening of the Cheyenne and Laramie papers would answer these questions.

Jake continued to have bouts of illness, and drove himself beyond his physical capabilities. During his last illness, reported as inflammation of the bowel, he was in severe pain for several weeks. His editor friend wrote, "The last conversation the writer of this sketch had with him, he expressed a desire to live long enough to secure for the son of his deceased brother an appointment as a cadet at West Point."⁴⁶ He died September 19, 1890, six months after his friend, George Crook. He was only 53 years old.

1. See Marshall Sprague, *Massacre, The Tragedy at Whiteriver* (Boston: 1957). Robert Emmitt, *The Last Trail* (Norman: 1954). J. McClellan, *This is Our Land*, vol. 1 (New York: 1977) vol. 2 (Jamestown: 1979).
2. Except as noted, biographical data on Jacob Montgomery Thornburgh was taken from *The Biographical Dictionary of The American Congress*; Alexander Echel, *History of the Fourth Tennessee Cavalry*, private printing (Knoxville: 1929); obituary, *Knoxville Daily Journal*, September 20, 1890.
3. Thornburgh's letter of resignation to Brig. Gen. W. D. Whipple, June 14, 1865, in the Military Service Record—Lt. Col. Jacob M. Thornburgh, National Archives. The more frequent references on Montgomery Thornburgh's imprisonment list Andersonville, but this would have been impossible as this enlisted men's prison was not opened until after his death. Other references record his imprisonment at Tuscaloosa, Alabama.
4. Letter to author, May 16, 1967, from Judge John Minnis Thornburgh, Jake's son, quoting this story told to him by Judge Kinney Barton, Tennessee Court of Civil Appeals. The youthful Swann was also from Jefferson County and possibly knew Thornburgh. After the war, Swann was one of only two ex-rebels who was not harassed into leaving the county; possibly Thornburgh, as district attorney, was able to repay a debt.
5. Letter General John T. Wilder to *Knoxville Daily Journal*, September 23, 1890, and letter from Major Will A. McTeer to *Knoxville Daily Journal*, September 23, 1890.
6. General Canby, a personal friend of Judge Carter, directed the land attack at Mobile. This fact may have speeded the early friendships of Carter and Thornburgh.
7. Letter dated October 8, 1872, in the Thornburgh Family Collection. This large collection of letters, scrapbooks and other documents is in the possession of the author. Subsequent references will list Thornburgh Collection.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Knoxville Daily Press and Herald*, February 24, 1872.
10. John G. Bourke, *Diary*, photoprint copy, Special Collections, Zimmerman Building, General Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, Vol. 27, p. 40-46. Hereafter cited as Bourke, *Diary*.
11. George Crook, Ed., Martine F. Schmitt, *General George Crook, His Autobiography* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), 2nd Ed., p. 274. Hereafter, Crook. Also Post Returns, Fort Fred Steele, National Archives, Microfilm copy in the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department.
12. Oliver P. Temple, *East Tennessee and the Civil War* (Cincinnati: 1899) pp. 273, 309-311.
13. Thornburgh Collection.
14. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (GPO, Washington: 1903), vol. 1, pp. 1472-1473. Jedediah Hyde Baxter, born in Vermont, served in the Civil War as a surgeon; Lt. Col., Asst. Medical pur., UAS, July, 1867; Chief Med. pur., 1872; Colonel 1874; brig. gen. and surgeon general 1890; died December 4, 1890. Dr. Baxter does not appear to be related to the Knoxville Baxters.
15. Members of the Key party: Postmaster General and Mrs. Key; S.A. and Mrs. Key and two daughters, Chattanooga; Congressman and Mrs. J. M. Thornburgh; Dr. and Mrs. J. H. Baxter, Washington; H. H. Harrison, member of 43rd Congress, Nashville; and Mrs. James, wife of Postmaster of New York; Mrs. Pierson, wife of Asst. Postmaster of New York; Major Hendley, President Hayes' private secretary; Capt. James E. White, Supt. Sixth Div. of Union Pacific Railroad, Chicago.
16. Bourke, *Diary*, vol. 27, pp. 39-40.
17. *Ibid.*, vol. 29, pp. 20, 76.

General Crook's frequent hunting companions:

Webb Cook Hayes, born March 23, 1856, second son of Rutherford B. Hayes, had known Crook since childhood. He and John Col-

lins hunted with the General every year from 1878-1890, except 1885 and 1886, when Crook was back in the Southwest. Hayes and Collins also made several hunts with Carl Schurz. Webb distinguished himself as an officer in Cuba, the Philippines and China; received the Medal of Honor.

John Sloan Collins after 15 years as post trader in Fort Laramie, established successful businesses with his brother in Omaha. He published two books on his western experiences, *Across the Plains in '64* and *My Experience in the West*.

John Gregory Bourke, served as enlisted man during the Civil War, graduated West Point 1865, served many years as Crook's Aide de Camp and was the General's principal biographer. He also published numerous other books and articles on western campaigns. He developed a solid reputation as an anthropologist and spent most of his time after 1881 in this field. Died 1896. See Heitman, vol. 1, p. 232.

Cyrus Swan Roberts and Walter S. Schuyler were ADC to Crook during this period. Roberts rose through the ranks during the Civil War and reenlisted in Regular Army. See Heitman, vol. 1, p. 835. Schuyler was a cadet at West Point during the time of Tip Thornburgh and John Bourke, graduating in 1866; cited for gallant service in Arizona Apache campaigns and Sioux campaigns in the Big Horns. See Heitman, vol. 1, p. 867.

Thaddeus Harlan Stanton rose through volunteer ranks during the Civil War and remained in Regular Army in Paymaster Corps. However, during the Powder River campaign, Crook gave him command of irregular and civilian troops. At the time of this article he was with Crook in Omaha as a Paymaster. See Heitman, vol. 1, p. 916.

Marshall Ludington was also a product of the Civil War, remaining in the Service in the Quartermaster Corps. He was with Crook in Sioux campaigns and at the time of this article was with Crook in Omaha as Quartermaster. See Heitman, vol. 1, p. 646.

18. Heitman, vol. 1, p. 328. Joseph Kirby Corson, born in Pennsylvania, served in Civil War as an enlisted man and as a surgeon; asst. surg. USA 1867; major 1888; Medal of Honor in 1899 for most distinguished action near Bristol Station, Virginia, in 1863; retired 1897.

19. Thornburgh Collection.

20. Clark Robertine, Mrs. T. T. Thornburgh's sister. Also, Western History Department, Denver Public Library, M-60-552, Microfilm roll #1, William A. Carter papers, 1855-1884, letter #37. Hereafter, Denver Public Library.

21. Thornburgh Collection. Closing remark suggests that Crook knew Mrs. Thornburgh, undoubtedly from the 1878 visit to Fort Steele.

22. Crook, p. 274.

23. William N. Carter, Judge Carter's son.

24. Goodspeed, *History of Tennessee* (Nashville: 1887), p. 1041. Edward Jackson Sanford, Knoxville's "Connecticut Yankee" who remained during the cholera epidemic of 1854 to help nurse the sick and bury the dead, supervised bridge building for General Burnside, fought in the defense of Fort Sanders and became a successful industrialist and banker following the war. The Sanford family were close friends of the Thornburghs. Jake took young Edward Terry Sanford, E.J.'s son, in as a law partner upon his graduation from Harvard Law School. Edward T. would administer Jake's estate for almost two decades and appoint his son, John Minnis as Referee in Bankruptcy. Will T. Hale and Dixon L. Merritt, *History of Tennessee and Tennesseans* (Chicago:1913), vol. 5, pp. 1406-1409. Major Thomas Shepard Webb served during the Civil War under General Polk and General Forrest. After the war he moved to Knoxville where he became one of the city's most successful attorneys. The friendship with Webb, a strong Confederate, demonstrates the character of Thornburgh, who also returned briefly to New Market after the war and a law partnership with an ex-rebel colonel.

25. Letter #38, Denver Public Library.

26. Letter #39, Denver Public Library.

27. Bourke, *Diary*, vol. 24, October 1 or 2, 1879, p. 251.

28. John S. Collins, *Across the Plains in '64* (Omaha: National Printing Co., 1904), p. 114; and Collins file, Rutherford B. Hayes Memorial Library, Fremont, Ohio.

29. Theodore C. Blegen, *Minnesota, A History of the State* (St. Paul: 1975), pp. 238-40, 242, 263, 294. Alexander Ramsey, Minnesota Territorial Governor, 1848-53, State Governor, 1860-63, U.S. Senate, 1863-79, Secretary of War, 1879, Hayes Cabinet.

30. Letter #40, Denver Public Library.

31. Thornburgh Collection. A. Bell was probably an Asst. Secretary of the Interior because in other references he signed as Acting Secretary during Mr. Schurz' absence.

32. Ibid.

33. Bourke, *Diary*, vol. 28, August 7-23, 1880, pp. 674-717.

34. Letter #40, Denver Public Library.

35. Bourke, *Diary*, vol. 39, p. 739.

36. Crook, p. 274, also, Hiram M. Chittenden, *The Yellowstone National Park* (Cincinnati: The R. Clarke, 7th Ed., 1912), p. 103.

37. Major and Mrs. Robert D. Clarke, Paymaster, Fort Omaha and Mrs. T. T. Thornburgh's parents. Crook's letter in Thornburgh Collection.

38. George White Baxter, soon to be well known in Wyoming as a cattleman, politician and briefly territorial governor in 1886, was son of the popular Judge John Baxter, Knoxville; he had also married into a prominent Knoxville family. He was a graduate of West Point, 1873, and at the time of this letter was "looking over the field" prior to resigning his commission, July, 1881. After his Wyoming career he returned to Knoxville in 1902. See Heitman, vol. 1, p. 200; Hale and Merritt, vol. 4, pp. 1472-73, as well as T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965); Lewis L. Gould, *Wyoming a Political Story, 1868-96* (New Haven: 1968); A. S. Mercer, *The Banditti of the Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954).

39. Robert Hunter Young. This popular officer of the Fourth Infantry was a product of the Civil War. He was with Crook during the Sioux campaigns. See Heitman, vol. 1, p. 1067. He was initially identified for the author by Tom Lindmier, Curator, Fort Bridger State Historic Site.

40. Peter McCulloch had been associated with Judge Carter for more than ten years. During the drought of 1879, Chief Washakie invited the Judge to take his cattle to the Stinking Water region. See Ester Johansson Murray's "Short Grass and Heather, Peter McCulloch in the Big Horn Basin," *Annals of Wyoming* 51 (Spring, 1979): 105-106.

41. William Henry Bisbee, product of the Civil War, who had a successful military career as an infantry officer, retiring in 1901 as brigadier general. See Heitman, vol. 1, p. 220.

42. Thornburgh Collection.

43. Crook, p. 274.

44. Thornburgh Collection.

45. Ibid.

46. *Knoxville Daily Journal*, September 20, 1890. Tip's son became a surgeon, U.S. Army; his grandson, Thomas Tipton, graduated from West Point and was killed in action in France, in World War II. Jake's son, John Minnis, followed his father into law, holding almost 40 years a judgeship in Bankruptcy; he died December 24, 1981 at age 100.

Acknowledgements: Special thanks for aid and encouragement are due: Tom Lindmier, Curator, Fort Bridger State Historic Site; Dr. Emmett D. Chisum, Research Historian, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming; Phillip J. Roberts; the staff of the Western History Department, Denver Public Library; Dr. William MacArthur, Jr. and staff, McClung Historical Collection, Knoxville-Knox County Public Library; the staff of the Non Print Department, General Library, University of Tennessee, and finally, Dr. Thomas A. Smith and staff, the Rutherford B. Hayes Library, Fremont, Ohio.

THE SALT LAKE HOCKADAY MAIL

Part I

by
John S. Gray

The decade of the 1850s witnessed a succession of contractors struggling, with little success, to establish a reliable and paying U.S. Mail and passenger service across the 1200 miles of the central route (the old California Trail) stretching from the Missouri River to Salt Lake City. Usually named as the last of these "shoe-string" lines was the Hockaday Salt Lake Mail, which tradition acknowledges only as the inconsequential predecessor of the glamorous staging empire of Russell, Majors and Waddell.

It was Alexander Majors himself who planted this disparaging image of the Hockaday operation, when he wrote in his memoirs:

They had a few stages, light cheap vehicles, and but a few mules and no stations along the route. They traveled the same teams for several hundreds of miles before changing, stopping every few hours and turning them loose to graze, and then hitching them up again and going along. I made a trip in the fall of 1858 from St. Joseph, Mo. to Salt Lake in their coaches. It was twenty-one days . . . traveling at short intervals day and night.¹

The records show to the contrary that Majors' partners soon bought up Hockaday's "cheap vehicles, few mules and no stations" for \$144,000! Either they got badly stung, or Hockaday's Salt Lake Mail deserves another look.

John M. Hockaday, as a young man of Independence, Missouri, qualified himself for the law, but promptly entered the trade between Missouri, Salt Lake City and California in 1850, and then took up a business residence in Salt Lake City in 1852.² On November 3 of the latter year J. H. Holeman, Utah Indian Agent, wrote to Washington from Fort Bridger, protesting Mormon attempts to take over the gentile-owned ferries on Green River, then in Utah Territory, noting that "Major [?] Hockaday, who will hand you this, is fully advised of all circumstances; I refer you to him for further information."³ The following December 28, J. M. Hockaday, said to be of the "topographical Corps" (?) and presumably bearing the Indian Agent's letter, rattled into Independence as a passenger

in the Salt Lake Mail wagon.⁴ It was Samuel H. Woodson, of Independence, who held the first contract for this monthly mail service, from 1850 to 1854, at \$19,500 a year.⁵

On November 6, 1853, John M. Hockaday completed a survey of Fort Bridger and surrounding land for old Jim Bridger, whom the Mormons had just ousted from his trading post. With Indian Agent Holeman, Hockaday was traveling east on December 10, when a party of Sioux braves ran off a span of his mules at Ash Hollow, below Fort Laramie, for which loss Hockaday submitted a claim. When friction over the Green River ferries flared up again, the gentile owners consulted lawyer Hockaday, who wrote a letter in their behalf at Salt Lake City on June 11, 1854, inquiring about their legal rights in the matter.⁶

That summer of 1854, Hockaday also made his first venture into the stage business. Woodson's Salt Lake Mail contract having run out, a new four-year contract at \$36,000 a year was let to William M. F. Magraw and John E. Reeside for a monthly service starting July 1, 1854. By August 23, the *Deseret News* was running an ad for John M. and Isaac Hockaday's (a brother or cousin?) passenger service to operate in conjunction with Magraw's mail trains.⁷ This arrangement between the Hockadays and Magraw was probably a limited one, for no record of a full partnership has been found.

Although Magraw planned to establish twelve relay stations 100 miles apart, the records indicate that only six were actually set up. They were located at: the Big Blue River (present Marysville, Kan.); Fort Kearny; Ash Hollow (where the trail crossed to the North Platte); Fort Laramie; Independence Rock (on the lower Sweetwater); and Fort Bridger. He used light mulewagons, one for the mail bags and one for passengers, each in charge of a conductor who made the full 1200-mile trip, the crews and passengers camping out at night, much as described by Alexander Majors.⁸ Even this primitive service was dependent upon



Eastern advertisers, anxious to sell their product, presented a somewhat unrealistic view of stage travel in this engraving which was originally published in *Harper's Weekly*.

peace on the plains, but operations had scarcely started when Indian warfare broke out (the Grattan Massacre near Fort Laramie on August 18, 1854, which brought Gen. William S. Harney's punitive campaign the next summer).

How many passengers the Hockadays carried is unknown, but two wagons left Salt Lake City on November 2, 1854, with conductors John Jamison and James Wheeler, assisted by Thomas Hackett. The passenger wagon carried Charles A. Kincaid, a partner in the genteel mercantile firm of (Howard) Livingston, Kincaid & Co., in Salt Lake. On nearing Andrew Dripp's trading post, a few miles below Fort Laramie on November 13, a party of Sioux ambushed the train, killing all but passenger Kincaid, whom they wounded severely. They also carried off \$1070 in gold coin, ripped open the mail bags and drove off all the mules.⁹

These disasters brought a prompt withdrawal of Reeside from the mail contract, as well as Isaac Hockaday from the passenger business. It has been widely assumed that John M. Hockaday had been a partner in the Independence to Santa Fe mail contract let to Jacob Hall in 1854, but there is proof that it was Isaac who took a full partnership with Hall, after pulling out of the Salt Lake passenger deal. An affidavit made on January 12, 1855, in behalf of Magraw's Indian depredation claim, reads in part: "Affiants Isaac Hockaday and Jacob Hall swear that they are contractors for the Independence to Santa Fe mail route . . .; that they are residents of Independence, Mo. . . ."¹⁰

Indian danger, combined with heavy mountain snows, nearly abolished mail and passenger service to Salt Lake for the rest of the winter of 1854-55. John M. Hockaday made a trip to California in January as a passenger on a mail train from Salt Lake to San Diego, operated by George

Chorpenning, the pioneering mail contractor over the Sierra Nevada. John M. later made an affidavit in behalf of a Chorpenning claim, stating that this train, as did others that winter, carried extra states-bound mail via California, since snow blocked the direct route to Independence.¹¹

Though Magraw tried to secure a release from his mail contract, the Postmaster General ordered him to continue the service at an increased compensation for his second year. A St. Louis newspaper reveals that by the end of August, 1855, Magraw was receiving delivery of new mail wagons and six new coaches from Concord, New Hampshire, embodying "improvements which will be a great convenience and comfort to passengers."¹² This makes it clear that the line was improving, not abandoning, passenger service. And John M. Hockaday had apparently assumed a larger role in the enterprise, sometimes referred to as the Magraw-Hockaday line.

Magraw did win a release from his contract on August 18, 1856, which also terminated Hockaday's first staging experience. By that time, the Mormons, exasperated by inadequate mail service, were organizing an ambitious mail, express and freighting company of their own and planning to establish settlements with trading posts and relay stations along the route. This was the Brigham Young Express and Carrying Co., usually abbreviated to "B.Y.X." On October 19, 1856, the Postmaster General awarded a contract for monthly mail over the remainder of Magraw's term to Hiram Kimball, the Mormon agent of the B.Y.X. But lack of mails in the interim so delayed notice of the award, that service could not begin until the next February. Then, after only a few runs, the eruption of the tragicomic Mormon War brought annulment of the B.Y.X. contract on June 10, 1857.¹³

The irregular mails of 1856 had helped to conceal from the nation a dangerous flare-up of friction in Utah. The news broke in the spring of 1857, when a spate of cor-

respondents' dispatches and complaints from federal officials fleeing from Mormondom hit the eastern newspapers. The stories were all intemperate and some "facts" were utterly false, but others were only too true. Mutual religious intolerance contributed billows of emotional smoke at a "sacred" level, but the underlying flame sprang from collisions at a purely "profane" level. Although the Mormons merely wanted to be left alone to live according to their own religious lights, their way was to set up an all-powerful Church-State within a nation proud of its Bill of Rights and its separation of church and state. Cool heads that might have worked out acceptable provinces for the hierarchy and the government were conspicuously absent from *both* sides.¹⁴

Among the numerous conflicts at the profane level, was the incompatibility of the Mormon and national court systems. In Utah, the probate courts handled all cases, criminal and civil, with judges, juries and lawyers answerable only to the Mormon hierarchy. This conflicted with the territorial system, in which federally-appointed judges presided over district courts to handle major cases, federal cases and appeals from lower courts. The Mormons so systematically harassed and defied the territorial court system as to reduce it to virtual paralysis. And Hockaday, one of the few gentile merchants in Salt Lake City and an outspoken critic of the Mormon treatment of women, was caught in this maelstrom.¹⁵

Before Hockaday left on a business trip to Washington (where he was in June, 1856), he appointed as his business agent in Salt Lake, one Peter K. Dotson, a gentile friend of three years' residence there and also the federally-appointed U.S. Marshal of Utah. Soon after Hockaday left, Mormons seized his valuable tannery. On advice of attorney Thomas S. Williams, an on-again-off-again Mormon, Dotson tried to repossess the tannery for his friend, with the result that he and Williams were promptly arrested and heavily fined by the local probate court. The outraged pair appealed this decision to the district court, presided over by federally-appointed Associate Justice George P. Stiles, a Mormon apostate.

At a preliminary hearing in November, the judge scheduled the appeal for a full hearing the next February—over violent Mormon protests. The Mormon hierarchy promptly ex-communicated lawyer Williams on November 12. Then on the night of December 28, 1856, a party of Mormon vandals burned the law libraries and papers of both Judge Stiles and Williams; they also stole the judge's court records, and all but a few privy to the secret believed they had been thrown in the fire, too. Before the hearing was to be held on February 13, 1857, Mormon agents, wielding knives and revolvers, forced Stiles to accept all orders from the hierarchy.

For legal help, Williams had called in David H. Burr, one of two gentiles allowed to appear before Utah courts. He was also the federally-appointed surveyor general of



Brigham Young, for whom an ambitious freighting company was named.

Utah, a victim of severe harassment by Mormons, who were led to believe that federal surveying was nothing more than a device to swindle Mormons out of their land. When the hearing opened, Burr immediately asked Stiles whether he would obey orders from the hierarchy, or honor his oath of office. This precipitated a riot among the Mormons, whose vituperation, guns and knives forced a hasty adjournment of the court, *sine die*. Burr and Williams were promptly disbarred and Hockaday's coveted tannery remained in Mormon hands.

These and other episodes led to the exodus of federal officials from Utah, including Chief Justice W. W. Drummond, Associate Justice Stiles, U.S. Marshal Dotson, Surveyor-General Burr, Indian Agent Garland Hurt, Salt Lake Postmaster Hiram F. Morrell and lawyer Williams. Their reports as well as news dispatches from others, helped to launch the ill-advised Utah Expedition to subdue the Mormons by military force.

On June 12, 1857, just two days after the cancellation of the B.Y.X. mail contract, Hockaday submitted a bid to carry the monthly Salt Lake mail for one year at \$62,000. His cost analysis reveals that he planned to use the same six relay stations as Magraw, with three mail trains running between Independence and Fort Laramie and three others between there and Salt Lake. This would require eighteen men, 92 mules and ten 6-mule coaches. But at this time, a dominant Southern administration was dedicated to a southern route to the Pacific, no matter how costly and roundabout. As a result, a niggardly contract at \$32,000 was let for the Salt Lake Mail to Stephen B. Miles, of Delaware.¹⁶

This forced Hockaday to turn to another iron he had warming in the fire. As early as May 22, 1857, Judge Drummond had identified John M. Hockaday as U.S. Attorney for Utah, though there is no proof that he had assumed his duties there. If President Pierce had made this appointment, it still became the prerogative of President Buchanan to make his own choice when he assumed office on March 3, 1857. Not until August 3, did Buchanan announce that he was "retaining" Marshal Dotson and Attorney General Hockaday in office.¹⁷ Also, because of the growing Mormon troubles, Buchanan appointed Alfred Cumming as the first gentile governor of Utah Territory.

By this time, most of the troops assigned to the Utah Expedition were on the march west, to be followed by Gen. Albert S. Johnston, as commander, and a battalion of 2nd Dragoons. Some of the new Utah officials went out with these troop details, but Hockaday, Dotson and Postmaster Morrell accompanied a private party that overtook the dragoon rear and joined the full command at Camp Scott, adjacent to Fort Bridger, on November 20.¹⁸ Because of Mormon destruction of some supply trains and the already advanced season, Johnston was compelled to winter his troops at this point in the mountains. This long delay enabled some heads to cool with the fortunate result that negotiations permitted a bloodless entry of federal troops into the Mormon capital on June 26, 1858.

During that frigid winter spent on short rations, the new Utah officials began holding court sessions, with Hockaday as the U.S. Attorney. But troops and civilians alike were soon complaining that the mail trains of S. B. Miles were always late and often missing. Accordingly, Hockaday arranged with Morrell to gather up the backlog of mail and army dispatches and start east with them on January 5, 1858, in company with Albert G. Browne, clerk. Hockaday delivered this mail to Independence on February 19, for which the Postmaster General paid him \$3000 out of the Miles contract. He continued on to reach Washington on March 4, determined to resign his Utah appointment if he could secure a suitable mail contract.¹⁹

Postmaster General Aaron V. Brown had enthusiastically favored the policy of using mail contracts to subsidize public transportation to the West in order to speed its development and strengthen its ties with the East. He did this by replacing minimal "star" mail contracts with subsidizing contracts for rapid mail with passenger service, paying well enough to justify the extra equipment and stations that alone made fast service possible. The trouble was that as an ardent Southerner, Brown had short-changed the heavily-traveled central route while engineering a plush subsidy for his favorite southern route.

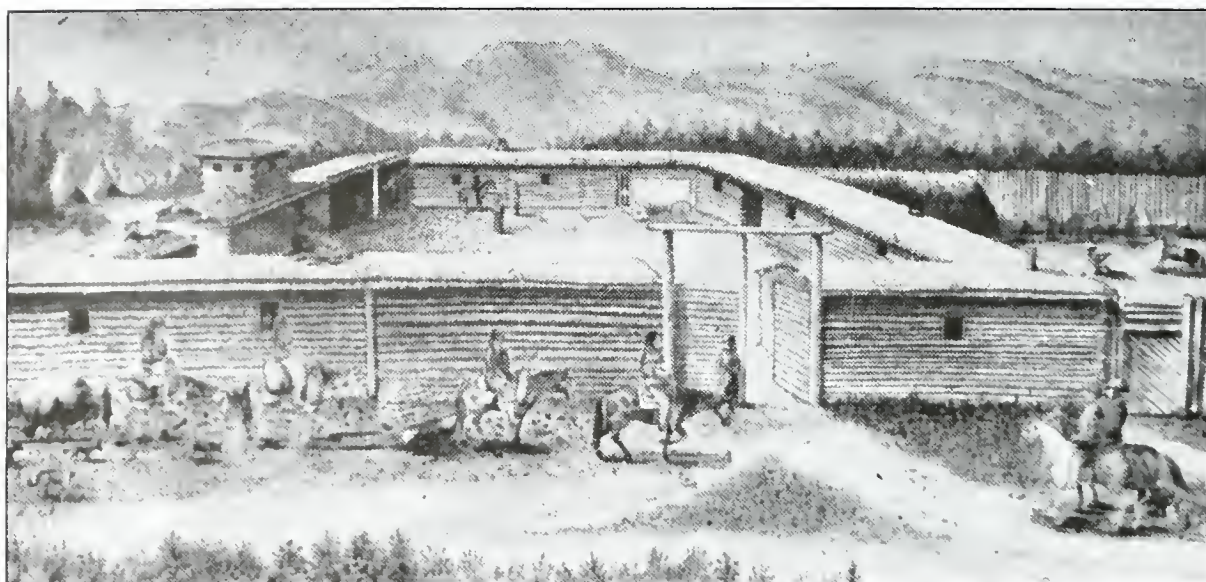
On September 16, 1857, Brown let a contract to the Butterfield Overland Mail Co. to deliver the mail between St. Louis and San Francisco by a semicircular route across the uninhabited desert via El Paso, Tucson and Los Angeles. The route was 2795 miles long, but since the first 160 miles

used the railroad west to Tipton, Missouri (a 12-hour run), the staging portion was 2635 miles. The service was to be twice a week, through in 25 days at 105 miles a day. The contract covered six full years at a compensation of \$600,000 per year. This subsidy, amounting to \$227 per year per mile, was deemed sufficient to support stage stations every ten to twenty miles. A unique feature of the contract prohibited any reduction in service or compensation for any reason whatever, and allowed a full year to prepare for an initial run on September 15, 1858.²⁰

Hockaday was undoubtedly aware that this flagrant favoritism had provoked the North into calling for equal subsidy of the central route. He also perceived that Butterfield's year of preparation time left an opening for a competitor to get into operation first. To exploit these opportunities, he met with Chorpenning, who was then in Washington to renew his mail contract, and together they planned a competitive service over a shortened central route. Hockaday bid to carry the mail from St. Joseph, Missouri, soon to become the western terminus of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, to Salt Lake City, a shortened distance of 1140 miles. Chorpenning bid to carry it from Salt Lake to Placerville, California, the eastern terminus of a short railroad from Sacramento. Within a year Chorpenning would be able to shorten his route from about 1,000 miles to 660.

Pressure from the North did compel Brown to award subsidizing contracts to both Hockaday and Chorpenning on April 1, 1858, but he designed them to prevent any competition with his favored southern route. Early in June, 1858, Congress tried to intervene by passing a joint resolution demanding fast service on the central route, but President Buchanan promptly vetoed the bill, thus marking Hockaday and Chorpenning as sheep for slaughter.²¹ Only an unshakeable confidence in the superiority of the central route could have induced the pair to tackle such formidable odds.

The only attractive feature of the contracts²² was the short preparation time (one month for Hockaday and three for Chorpenning), which would enable them to beat Butterfield into service. Chorpenning's contract was for the usual four years (July 1, 1858 to June 30, 1862), but Hockaday's for only 31 months (May 1, 1858, to November 30, 1860), thus allowing little time to recover a heavy investment. Both contracts featured a sliding scale of increasing compensation for increased service, but this proved mere bait when Brown fixed Hockaday's compensation at \$190,000 a year for the weekly mail, through in 22 days, and Chorpenning's at \$130,000 a year for a weekly mail, through in 16 days. Even by their shorter route, a weekly service at a slow 55 miles a day and through in 38 days, could not compete with Butterfield's twice-a-week service, at 110 miles a day and through in 25 days. Furthermore, their subsidy amounted to \$149 per year per mile, only two-thirds of Butterfield's. By such planned inferiority, Brown



AMH PHOTO

Fort Bridger offered supplies and a resting place to trans-continental travelers of all kinds.

forecast his decision never to allow the central route to carry first-class transcontinental mail.

The contracts also featured another booby-trap. Under no circumstances could Butterfield's pay or service be reduced, but Hockaday's and Chorprenning's contracts carried the following clause: "The Postmaster General may discontinue or curtail service, in whole or in part, in order to place on the route a greater degree of service, or whenever the public interests require such discontinuance or curtailment for any other cause; by allowing one month's extra pay on the amount of service dispensed with." Hockaday's contract also carried another, completely contradictory, clause: "the Postmaster General reserving the further right to reduce the service to semimonthly whenever the necessities of the public and the condition of affairs in the Territory of Utah may not require it more frequently, at \$190,000 per year." This full pay of \$190,000 for half service appears as a *reiteration* in the contract.²³

The energetic Hockaday spent the month of April in vigorous preparations for the maiden run of the mail. Precisely on schedule, on the morning of May 1, 1858, his mail and passenger wagons pulled up at the St. Joseph post office to load 800 lbs. of mail and two passengers, Albert G. Browne of the *New York Tribune* and James W. Simonton of the *New York Times*.²⁴ On May 27, they rolled into the temporary terminus at Camp Scott-Fort Bridger, where the Utah Expedition was still waiting to resume its march into Salt Lake City. Simonton introduced his long and interesting account of the journey with the following general information:

We left St. Joseph with the first mail under the contract on the 1st of May, only 27 days [?] after the contract was signed, a time quite too brief for the organization of a route 1200 miles long through a wilderness country. Nevertheless, though delayed by storms and a river rendered temporarily impassable by heavy rains, without relay stations, the first trip was made in 27 days. The contractors are busily engaged now in stocking the road, intending to locate a station for

every fifty miles of the road, at which fresh animals may be had and the passengers find rest and refreshment . . .

The fare to Salt Lake for passengers is fixed at \$200, which includes board as well as conveyance. The coaches are light but strong—similar in construction to the ordinary ambulance used by officers of the army, with seats and backs so arranged that they may be let down at night to form a very comfortable mattress for the passengers who have occasion to sleep on them. With the appliances of comfort thus introduced, a trip across the plains will lose much of the rough and robust interest which it has hitherto possessed . . .²⁵

Simonton thoroughly enjoyed the outdoor living and occasional scares of the long trip. Though he did not name the conductor, it was undoubtedly James E. Bromley, who did conduct the first return trip that left Camp Scott on May 29. Bromley, having been born on September 7, 1832, in St. Joseph County, Michigan, was still in his 25th year. In the early 1850s he had been associated with a Missouri stage company, rising to division agent. In July, 1854, he conducted the first mail train to Salt Lake on the Magraw contract and remained with that firm until its contract was canceled in August, 1856. The next spring he joined Magraw's Pacific Wagon Road Expedition, a Department of the Interior program to improve and shorten the old California trail, remaining until fall when the Utah Expedition halted further work on the road that season. Magraw and most of his crew enlisted as 9-month volunteers in Johnston's army, but Bromley says the army hired him as a scout and guide.²⁶ This is probably correct, for otherwise he would not have been free so early to become a conductor on Hockaday's line.

Simonton wrote that heavy rains so muddied the roads and swelled the streams that they averaged only 31 miles a day over the first 278 miles to Fort Kearny, reached May 9. For the next 162 miles up the Platte to the lower (shortly to be named Beauvais') crossing of the South Platte, they made a fast 65 miles a day, but then lost a good day and a half hunting a passable ford over the flooded river. They lost another half a day at Fort Laramie on May 18, and

beyond there army orders slowed them some more. They passed Independence Rock on the 23rd, crossed South Pass on the 25th and rolled into Camp Scott on the evening of May 27. This was five days beyond schedule time, but not bad for an initial run over an unstocked line.

In a hasty note that Simonton had sent by the first return mail of May 29, he reported that "our arrival in 27 days was hailed joyfully by the Army, which expected it to take twice as long . . . Now that the mail contractors have distributed their stock over the route, I think you can rely on regular service." Hockaday must already have sent out some relay teams, for conductor Bromley drove that first return mail into St. Joseph in a record 17 days. The first mail to continue into Salt Lake City left St. Joseph on June 5, completing the full trip in 21 days.²⁷ Thereafter, Salt Lake City enjoyed its first dependable weekly mail, for the trains left both terminals every Saturday morning and reached their destinations on an average of twenty days later for the next six months. Since the Postmaster General had not ordered this faster-than-schedule service, he happily withheld the extra pay it would otherwise have drawn.

The first mail from Placerville on Chorpenning's new contract bounced into Salt Lake City on July 21, another initial trip delayed by stocking the line. The first westbound transcontinental trip left St. Joseph on June 19, reached Salt Lake City on July 8 (twenty days), whence Chorpenning forwarded it to Placerville on July 19 (31 days total). There the whole town turned out to give it a rousing celebration to the claim of a 29-day through trip. If this figure is correct, the mail laid over for two days at Salt Lake to make an uncoordinated connection.²⁸

Hockaday and Chorpenning thus met their goal of instituting the first transcontinental service two months ahead of Butterfield, but the eastern newspapers soon revealed how Pyrrhic was the victory. They regularly noted the arrivals of western mails, summarizing their latest news. It was invariably the "Utah" mail that arrived at St. Joseph, and starting in the fall, the "California" mail that arrived at Tipton. Soon even the public knew that the only cross-country mail the Postmaster General ever consigned to the central route consisted of old newspapers and franked government publications, universally dubbed "Pub. Docs." and deemed useful only for filling chuck-holes in the road.

Simonton also made one of the early westbound trips over the Chorpenning line, leaving Salt Lake City on July 19, and reaching Placerville in fourteen days and six hours.²⁹ His lengthy account reveals that at that time Chorpenning was still using the old roundabout road that headed far north of Salt Lake before veering west to pick up the head of the Humboldt River. In successive steps, spread over some six months, Chorpenning would shorten his route to 660 miles by adopting the Egan Trail that crossed the desert west of Salt Lake.

Hockaday's plans for equipping his line were far more ambitious than any of his predecessors. As Simonton had revealed, he initially expected to erect stations every 50 miles, which for a 1140 mile route meant 23 stations, including both terminals. But as will emerge, he soon expanded this number to 36, averaging 33 miles apart, probably the most he could wring from his subsidy. This number would permit frequent relay teams and provide accommodations for passenger meals and rest, but there was more to the scheme than this.

Congressional acts of March 3, 1856, and 1857, offered special inducements to mail contractors on east-to-west links, or extensions, of routes running between the tier of states on the west bank of the Mississippi and the Pacific Ocean; they granted the right to pre-empt land, limited to 320 acres each, at stations no less than ten miles apart.³⁰ Hockaday intended to make such preemptions, covering grazing and even crop land, where suitable, and then equip the stations as public trading posts, or "road ranches" as they came to be called. It would take a little time to establish them and would require an elaborate freighting service to supply them with provisions, animal forage and trade goods. For this purpose, he established a convenient headquarters for business and freighting in Atchison, Kansas, on the west bank of the Missouri only a few miles below St. Joseph.

The mail contract was apparently held in the name of Hockaday & Co., in which David H. Burr, the former surveyor-general of Utah and a friend of Hockaday, held a financial interest as well as serving as contract surety. In addition, this pair formed Hockaday, Burr & Co., as a Utah freighting firm, which apparently also contracted to carry some of the heavy freight for the mail concern. The *Atchison Champion* (a Saturday weekly) carried notices of the freighting activities of both firms, sometimes confusing the two. In addition, the issue of July 24, 1858, featured a tabular list of sixteen freighting outfits that had left the city (dateless and incomplete, but in good sequence) up to July 21 (misprinted as July 1), and the issue of October 30 added eight more outfits to the table to make 24 for the entire season.

These tables reveal that "John M. Hockaday & Co., of Independence, Mo.," sent out three outfits that summer, all as "supply trains for mail stations." They were delivering men, mules and provisions to the first set of 22 stations. The first train consisted of ten wagons, twenty men, 80 mules and 23,000 lbs. of freight; as No. 2 in the table, it must have left in May. The second consisted of ten wagons, eighteen men, 85 mules and 21,000 lbs. of freight; as No. 6 in the table, it must have left in June, as confirmed by a notice in the issue of June 19, that a supply train of the Salt Lake Mail contractors had left the city that very day. The third consisted of 57 wagons, 69 men, six horses, 312 mules and 204,000 lbs. of freight; as No. 22 in the table, it probably left in the first half of August. In confirmation,

August 14 issue noted that "the Salt Lake Mail contractors are now freighting [implying that the train had already left?] . . . 4,500 bu. of corn designed for the different mail stations along the route." If it had left early that week, say August 10, it should have reached "this side of the mountains," some 800 miles out, where about September 29, a returning Salt Lake Mail passed "one of Hockaday's supply trains."³¹

The season table reveals that Hockaday, Burr & Co., of Salt Lake City, dispatched as the last outfit of the season a mammoth train of 105 wagons, 225 men, 200 mules, 1,000 cattle, 50 horses and 465,500 lbs. of freight. The *Champion* of August 14, described this identical train of 25 mule- and 80 ox-wagons as then being assembled for loading to Salt Lake. The editor further commented:

Hockaday, Burr & Co. design establishing a chain of station stores on the line from Atchison to Salt Lake City, making Atchison the principal depot and outfitting point. They have the contract for carrying the Salt Lake Mail and their design is to locate these stores all along the mail route to supply their mail trains as they pass, and also to furnish the people of the plains with merchandise. They will thus avoid the necessity of carrying supplies with each mail train as has heretofore been the custom. Mr. Hockaday, the senior partner of the firm, is now in this place, personally supervising the loading of his goods. The enterprise he has undertaken is a gigantic one, but will be a great promoter of civilization and settlement in the vast territory west of here.

The *Champion* of September 25, indicated that this mammoth train left for Salt Lake and the mail stations along the route about September 14. This statement, together with the excess of mules and men, imply that a portion of this train was also serving the mail line. The September 14, departure is confirmed by a report from a returning mail that it had passed a Hockaday supply train

at Scott's Bluff, some 555 miles out, about November 1.³² This late departure meant that the train could not complete its journey until winter was well advanced, suggesting that it was expanding the number of stations to 36, as was accomplished by the next spring.

This supply operation introduces a famous character employed by Hockaday as well as his staging successors—Joseph Alfred Slade. Folklore paints him as the archetypal "badman," though he was in fact a superb stage man. Mark Twain, while staging west in August, 1861, picked up a wealth of gossip (as he clearly warned his deaf readers) about Slade, which he later embroidered in his own inimitable style. One of these tall-tales relates that Slade, as train-master for a California-bound emigrant train, shot down one of his wagon drivers, purely for "kicks."³³ Other evidence tames this story down and fits it into the context of the Hockaday operations.

The fullest, first-hand account of this incident was told to C. G. Coutant by Hugo Koch, who came west in the fall of 1858, as a teamster in a freighting outfit from Atchison in charge of Slade. Near Green River, a fellow teamster named Farrar quarreled with Slade, who shot him; to Slade's deep regret the wound proved fatal. A partial confirmation comes from Sir Richard Burton, whose stage-coach passed a grave on the west bank of Green River on August 22, 1860, which contained the remains of "one Farrer [sic], who had fallen by the revolver of the redoubtable Slade." Another comes from Granville Stuart, who came to Green River August 1, 1858, and traded there until leaving in October; he did much the same thing the next year. While he was there, wagonmaster Slade shot a teamster. Stuart misdated this event in 1859, for Slade was elsewhere in 1859.³⁴



Stage stations varied in quality, cleanliness and construction. At this one, the hostess displays her collection of pots, while supplies appear to be stored on the roof.

As a wagonmaster with a freighting outfit from Atchison in the fall of 1858, that reached Green River by October, Slade could only have been with Hockaday's third supply train, which had left August 10,³⁴ and was sighted "this side of the mountains" in late September. The other tabulated trains that went that far were either too early or too late. John Doniphan, in recalling early stage coaching to Salt Lake, mentions "the famous Slade, who had been promoted from clerk, to a supply train, to a division agent."³⁵ Since Slade attained the latter position with the Hockaday line, his supply train job must have been with the same firm, which was involved in freighting only in 1858.

The *New York Tribune* of November 19, 1858, provides a general description of the organization of the Hockaday line as of that date, based on information from its correspondent, Albert G. Browne, an eastbound passenger on the mail that left Salt Lake City on October 16:

. . . So far from interrupting the communications to Utah during the winter, the contractors anticipate making all trips within schedule time. This line is thoroughly stocked, and a string of twenty-two stations has been established between St. Joseph and Salt Lake City, averaging fifty miles apart. Drivers are furnished at every station to convey the mail to the next. The route is partitioned into four great divisions: from St. Joseph to Fort Kearny, from there to Fort Laramie, from there to the upper crossing of the Sweetwater, and from there to Salt Lake City. To each of these a road agent was assigned, who superintends all the stations and the transit of the mails. On the western division, the services of the most experienced mountaineers have been engaged to conduct the mail across the mountains during the winter . . .

Travelers' accounts specifically name only a few of this first set of 22 stations. Teamster Robert T. Ackley noted in his diary "a trading post or mail station, kept by a Frenchman," at Ash Hollow on July 19, 1858, and a trading post at Devil's Gate on August 14. Percival G. Lowe, a superintendent of army transportation, recorded in his diary on August 22, a mail station at O'Fallon's Bluffs, which became a well known post on the Platte in western Nebraska, kept by Crawford Moore and Benjamin Grimes. Lowe also mentioned a mail station at the mouth of Echo Canyon on October 2, and on his return from Salt Lake on October 21, named the keeper as a seceded Mormon named Briggs. On October 29, he noted a mail station nine miles east of South Pass, which identifies it as Gilbert's Station, kept by young Henry S. Gilbert. On November 2, Lowe spoke highly of the young man who kept the Devil's Gate Station; it was located a mile west of the Gate and apparently replaced the old Independence Rock Station. A news account of the arrival of a mail at St. Joseph, mentioned that Geminien P. Beauvais' well-known trading post eight miles east of Fort Laramie was also a Hockaday station.³⁶

Another letter-writing passenger boarded the mail train at St. Joseph on August 14, for a 22 day trip to Salt Lake. This was Kirk Anderson, a former editor of the *St. Louis Missouri Republican*, but soon destined to publish in the


Mormon capital a gentile newspaper called the *Valley Tan*. He wrote on August 17, from Daniel Patterson's Ranch on the Big Sandy in Nebraska (probably already a Hockaday station): "These mail trains of Hockaday & Co. run on railroad principles and afford very little opportunity to scratch a line, as they put . . . passengers as well as mails right through in quick time." Unfortunately he names no other stations or keepers, and only twice refers to changing teams—at Ash Hollow and Fort Bridger; his conductor was Jim Bromley.³⁷

The titles of stage personnel have caused much confusion, partly from carelessness and partly because they were slow to become standardized. Among supervisory personnel, the highest was general superintendent (of the whole line), then division superintendent (of two or more divisions), division agent (of one division) and station agent (of one heavy-business station, such as a terminal or junction). A "route" or "road" agent was an early term for any of these supervisory personnel, except station agent. A conductor, assisted by a wagon driver, took charge of a mail and passenger party, which camped out at night. When stations became frequent and coaches either ran all night, or stopped overnight at a station, a stage driver handled the coach while an express messenger had charge of express matter and passengers. Stationkeepers, with hostlers and herders, were at the low end of the staging totem pole, though the first might be prominent as a trader or host.

Hockaday himself was undoubtedly the general superintendent of his line. Initially the stations were few and conductors apparently made the full run with the mails, but the establishment of divisions with supervising division agents marked the transition to more frequent stations, more relay teams and shorter runs for teams, drivers and conductors. The four divisions identified in the above quote, were, starting from the east, respectively 278, 332, 271 and 242 miles in length. At this time a Mr. Ashton was apparently division agent of the western division, and according to P. G. Lowe's diary, the station agent at the Salt Lake City terminal was "Dodson," undoubtedly Peter K. Dotson. The rest are unknown, but a number of conductors for this period are named in newspaper items: James E. Bromley, P. T. Conner, Benjamin J. Rupe, A. Burns and George W. Constable. The names of a few more personnel will emerge in the course of this story.

THIS ARTICLE WILL BE
CONCLUDED IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF
ANNALS OF WYOMING

1. Alexander Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier* (Columbus: Long's College Book Co., 1950), p. 165.
2. "Journal of Capt. Albert Tracy," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 13(1945):106; J. M. Hockaday to G. W. Manypenny, June 12, 1856, in "Hockaday Claim Papers," Letter from Upper Platte Agency, 1856, M234, R889, NARS; "George Chorpennig Claim," SR No. 346, 41C 3S (Ser. No. 1443), p. 6.
3. "Utah Expedition," HED No. 71, 35C, 1S (Ser. No. 956), p. 159.
4. Louise Barry, *Beginning of the West* (Topeka: Kansas Historical Society, 1972), p. 1136.
5. Leroy R. Hafen, *The Overland Mail* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1926), p. 57.
6. J. Cecil Alter, *Jim Bridger* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), p. 168.
7. Hafen, *Overland Mail*, p. 60 (mail contract); A. R. Mortenson, "A Pioneer Paper Mirrors the Breakup of Isolation in the Great Basin," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 20 (January 1952):78.
8. "Magraw Claim," HR No. 6, 34C, 1S (Ser. No. 868) pp. 4ff.
9. "Livingston, Kincaid Claim," SR No. 257, 34C, 1S (Ser. No. 837); News reports and claim affidavits in Letter from Upper Platte Agency, M234, R889.
10. Letter from Upper Platte Agency, M234, R889.
11. "Chorpennig Claim," SR No. 346, 41C, 3S (Ser. No. 1443), p. 6.
12. *Nebraska Historical Society Publication* 20(1922):276.
13. Hafen, *Overland Mail*, p. 61; Harold Schindler, *Orrin Porter Rockwell* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1966), pp. 241ff.
14. For a balanced account, see Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960).
15. Dale L. Morgan, *Great Salt Lake* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1947), pp. 263-66, and Furniss, *Mormon Conflict*, give the background to the court conflict and introduce the characters of the Hockaday case without mentioning it. The present account is supplemented by a detailed Salt Lake City dispatch, signed "Utah," *New York Times*, May 18-19, 1857.
16. "Hockaday & Liggitt Claim," SCR No. 259, 36C, 1S (Ser. No. 1040), Minority Report, pp. 36-39; Hafen *Overland Mail*, p. 63 (for Miles Contract); J. Sterling Morton, *Illustrated History of Nebraska* (Lincoln: Jacob North & Company, 1905), p. 706 (Miles sketch).
17. *New York Times*, May 26, 1857 (Drummond letter); August 3, 1857.
18. "Diary of William A. Carter to Utah, 1857," *Annals of Wyoming* 11 (April 1939), *passim*.
19. Utah dispatch in *New York Tribune*, February 2, 1858; A minute of May 28, 1848, in Postmaster General's Record Book, Rte. 8911, RG 28, NARS; St. Louis dispatch in *New York Times*, February 26, 1858; Washington Dispatch in *New York Times*, March 6, 1858.
20. Hafen, *Overland Mail*, pp. 89ff.
21. Ralph Moody, *Stagecoach West* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1967), pp. 125-126.
22. "Hockaday, Liggitt Claim," SCR No. 259, 36C, 1S (Ser. No. 1040), Minority Report, p. 13; "Chorpennig Claim," SR 346, 41C 3S (Ser. No. 1443), p. 8.
23. The quote is from the majority report; the minority report features a different punctuation so unintelligible as to raise the suspicion of tampering.
24. St. Joe dispatch in *New York Times*, May 13, 1858.
25. *Ibid.*, June 30, 1848.
26. Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1904), pp. 428-29 (sketch of Bromley).
27. *New York Times*, June 24, 1858 (Simonton quote), June 21, 1858 (Bromley's return to St. Joe); *Atchison Champion*, July 24, 1858 (first run to Salt Lake).
28. Salt Lake dispatch in *New York Times*, August 24, 1858 (first Chorpennig mail); Moody, *Stagecoach West*, pp. 89ff (first transcontinental mail).
29. *New York Times*, September 22, 1858.
30. *New York Tribune*, September 17, 1857.
31. St. Joe dispatch in *New York Tribune*, October 26, 1858.
32. St. Louis dispatch in *Ibid.*, November 18, 1858.
33. Mark Twain, *Roughing It* (New York: Harper & Row reprint of 1871 ed.), p. 62.
34. C. G. Coutant, *History of Wyoming* (Laramie: Chaplin et al, Printers, 1899); Richard F. Burton, *City of the Saints*, ed. Fawn M. Brodie (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), p. 191; Granville Stuart, *Forty Years on the Frontier* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1957), p. 151.
35. Frank A. Root and William E. Connelley, *The Overland Stage to California* (Columbus: Long's College Book Co., 1950), pp. 446-47.
36. Richard T. Ackley, "Across the Plains in 1858," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 9(1941):198, 204; Percival G. Lowe, *Five Years a Dragoon* (Kansas City: Franklin Hudson Pub. Co., 1906), pp. 315, 332, 342-43, 347; Leroy R. Hafen, *Colorado Gold Rush, 1858-59* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1941), p. 59.
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The Gros Ventres and the Upper Missouri Fur Trade, 1806-1835

by
Thomas F. Schilz

Atinsa Chief Niatohsa is shown enjoying his pipe. He wears the topknot, distinctive to some Upper Missouri tribes.

About 1650 the Assiniboinés and Crees forced the Gros Ventres and Arapahoes from their woodland hunting grounds in western Manitoba and Minnesota. Although the Gros Ventres and their Arapaho kinsmen were skilled warriors, with bows and arrows they were no match for tribes armed with guns.

An Algonkian-speaking people, the Gros Ventres separated from their Arapaho kinsmen soon after 1650. While the Arapahoes migrated southward toward the Platte River, the Gros Ventres drifted westward and settled along the south fork of the Saskatchewan. By the middle of the 18th century they occupied a considerable extent of territory between the South Saskatchewan and the mouth of the Marias. They allied themselves with the Cheyennes and the four tribes of the Blackfeet confederacy which were the Piegiens, Siksika (or Blackfeet), Bloods and Sarcees. Although the Gros Ventres frequently traded with British merchants in Canada, they regarded these white men as allies of their Assiniboiné enemies and were more often than not at war with them.

The Gros Ventres traded with a variety of tribes along the Missouri. They bartered furs and buffalo robes for corn,

horses and other goods of the village Indians of the upper Missouri.¹ Admired for their skill at dressing buffalo robes, the Gros Ventres had begun to penetrate the Spanish trade network on the upper Missouri by 1795.² The Spaniards found the Gros Ventres to be ready customers for firearms, tobacco and other goods. Gros Ventre trading parties also visited their Arapaho cousins along the upper Arkansas and traded with the *comancheros* from New Mexico.

The American purchase of the Louisiana Territory in 1803 ended a decade of peaceful trade between the Gros Ventres and Spaniards. From the first years of their penetration of the northern plains after 1804, the Gros Ventres were the most relentlessly hostile Indian tribe the American trappers encountered in the trans-Mississippi west.³ Two decades of warfare against English traders in western Canada had hardened the Gros Ventres against the white men, and led to contempt for their fighting ability. At the same time, the Gros Ventres' victories had given them confidence that their own war medicine was stronger than that of the whites.

American fur trappers and traders who explored the upper Missouri and its tributaries in the early 19th century often mistakenly referred to the Gros Ventres as "Blackfeet." This was a natural error since the Gros Ventres often camped with their Blackfeet allies and spoke a related language.

Occasionally, Americans confused the Gros Ventres with an unrelated Siouan tribe, the Hidatsas, who were also called "Gros Ventres." Although the Hidatsas were agriculturalists who occupied villages along the Missouri and the Gros Ventres were nomadic buffalo hunters, white men failed to differentiate between the two tribes by name. Some observers, noting the linguistic and cultural differences between the two tribes, referred to the Hidatsas as the "Gros Ventres of the Missouri" and to the Gros Ventres themselves as the "Gros Ventres of the Prairies," ignoring the fact that several Gros Ventre bands occupied territories along the Missouri.

The Gros Ventres displayed hostility toward American trappers because they resented the sale of guns and ammunition to their enemies, the Shoshones, Nez Percés and Flatheads. In addition, the Gros Ventres regarded American mountain men as interlopers who hunted the beaver and buffalo whose skins they relied on to trade for guns and other goods. The balance of power on the Great Plains was so precarious that the possession of a few muskets might give one tribe an overwhelming military advantage over its enemies. Without beaver to trade to the British in Canada, the Gros Ventres could not acquire guns. Without guns for war and hunting, they were doomed. The Americans' sale of guns to the Gros Ventres' enemies and their trapping of beaver needed for trade goods infuriated the Gros Ventres, who wanted to maintain the balance of power in their favor.

The Gros Ventres and their Blackfeet allies controlled rich hunting grounds that possessed a fatal fascination for white trappers. By the 1830s Gros Ventres and Blackfeet war parties killed an average of 50 Americans a year.⁴ Gros Ventre bands often roamed between their own lands and the territory of their Arapaho cousins along the Arkansas. As a result, American trappers unexpectedly encountered Gros Ventre war parties hundreds of miles from the tribes' usual hunting grounds.

In 1806, members of the expedition of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark became the first Americans to encounter the Gros Ventres. The Lewis and Clark expedition had traveled overland from St. Louis to the Pacific Ocean, acquiring scientific information and laying claim to the farthest frontiers of the Louisiana Purchase and Oregon for the United States. On their trip west the explorers met no Gros Ventres. Lewis believed, however, that the Gros Ventres' business could be valuable and that a trading post should be built in their country to entice them to trade with Americans rather than with the English in Canada.⁵

On their return trip from the Pacific, Lewis left Clark and the main body of the expedition to explore the course of the Marias, which was within Gros Ventre territory. Accompanied by George Drouillard, Reuben Fields and Joseph Fields, Lewis set out for the Marias in July 1806. Upon approaching the Marias, the Americans encountered

eight Gros Ventres led by two minor chiefs, Wolf Calf and Side Hill Calf. The Gros Ventres offered to camp with the Americans and passed around a calumet. They appeared surprised when Lewis informed them he represented a great "white chief" far to the east of their country and were skeptical of the Americans' assertion that they had crossed the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific.

At daybreak Lewis awoke to find Joseph Fields struggling with one of the Gros Ventres who had seized his rifle. As Lewis stood up and reached for his own weapon, he saw Fields stab the Indian. Lewis then shot another Indian who had grabbed one of his own pistols. Although the white men chased the surviving Indians for some distance on foot, Lewis and his companions finally gave up and returned to their camp. Gathering up the Gros Ventres' horses, weapons and food, they hastily rode back to the Missouri to rejoin Clark's party.⁶

Lewis and Clark's report, which noted the richness of the western country in beaver and other fur-bearing animals, prompted a number of American trappers to explore the Missouri in hopes of making their fortunes in the fur trade. Manuel Lisa, a Spaniard from St. Louis who had traded with the Osages and had trapped beaver along the Arkansas, organized the first of such major expeditions in 1807. Lisa's fur brigade built a post on the Big Horn River and established relations with two of the sedentary tribes of the region, the Mandans and the Arikaras. Using them as middlemen, he acquired a large assortment of furs in trade with the nomadic tribes of the northern plains. Attempting to capitalize on his initial success, Lisa, Auguste Chouteau, Pierre Menard, Andrew Henry and other prominent St. Louis businessmen organized the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company. The new company employed trappers to collect furs and proposed building a series of forts on the upper Missouri to protect and supply their employees. Menard, Henry, John Colter and George Drouillard led the company's first expedition westward in 1809, and were continually harassed by Gros Ventres and Blood war parties.

In April, 1810, several members of Colter's trapping party became the first American victims of Gros Ventre hostility. On this occasion Colter (who had barely escaped with his life from a Blackfeet war party in 1808) camped with his companions on the Jefferson Fork of the Missouri—the heart of the Gros Ventre and Piegan southern hunting grounds. Colter and several other trappers had left camp to set traps while three men, Ayers, Cheek and Hull, remained behind to dry beaver pelts. A party of 30 to 40 Gros Ventres attacked these three as they worked. Ayers, refusing to defend himself, tried to run and was killed by a lance. Cheek shot one of the Gros Ventres but was killed while trying to reload his musket. Hull was captured and apparently killed later.⁷ Two other trappers, Freeharty and Rucker, returned to the camp to help their comrades and suffered the same fate as Hull.⁸ The surviv-



Camp of the Gros Ventres of the Prairies on the Upper Missouri.

ing members of Colter's party abandoned their equipment and fled down the Missouri to Lisa's fort.⁹ After robbing the cache Colter's men abandoned, the Gros Ventres, in a gesture designed to flaunt their contempt for the Americans, visited Lisa's fort wearing the trappers' clothes and carrying their weapons. A few days later Drouillard and two Delaware Indian companions were ambushed and killed, presumably by the same Gros Ventres.¹⁰

The frequent attacks of the Gros Ventres and their allies finally forced the Americans to abandon the upper Missouri. Gros Ventre hostility toward American trappers continued throughout the next two decades. Their raids limited the ability of the Americans to collect furs and compete with the larger and more established Hudson's Bay Company. These skirmishes benefitted the Gros Ventres by providing them with captured furs to trade to the British in Canada as well as horses and guns.

So many stolen pelts ended up in Hudson's Bay Company warehouses that American trappers accused the British of supplying guns to the Gros Ventres and thereby encouraged thefts and violence.¹¹ In 1823, Major Benjamin O'Fallon, Indian agent for the upper Missouri tribes, expressed this opinion when he accused the British of being "greedy wolves" who, alarmed by the commercial success of their American rivals, furnished the Gros Ventres and other hostile tribes with guns in hopes of destroying the republic's fur trade.¹² O'Fallon was disturbed by an attack on a trapping party carried out by Blackfeet Indians who

had gained entrance to the American camp by means of a letter of introduction from a Hudson's Bay Company official who assured the Americans that the bearers were faithful friends of the white men.¹³ On this occasion, the "faithful friends" killed five Americans and stole a fortune in furs which they sold to the Gros Ventres. The Gros Ventres, in turn, passed the stolen pelts on to the British.¹⁴

Sometimes the Gros Ventres attempted to avoid trouble with the Americans only to have extenuating circumstances dictate otherwise. In 1825, for example, James Clyman and three companions camped peacefully with a Gros Ventre party of seventeen warriors. In the night, three young warriors who sought to earn their first scalps at the trappers' expense, crept up on the sleeping Americans and killed one of them with an axe.¹⁵ The other Americans barely escaped with their lives, and lost 166 pounds of beaver pelts.¹⁶

General William Ashley's Rocky Mountain Fur Company suffered innumerable attacks by Gros Ventre war parties. Because Blackfeet warriors had driven his 1822 expedition from the upper Missouri, Ashley's 1825 outfit attempted to avoid hostile Indians by trapping in the Snake River valley and the Wasatch Mountains. Ashley's men collected an enormous number of pelts, many of them purchased from British trappers.¹⁷

Ashley's trappers returned from the Great Basin via South Pass and the Bighorn River valley. In July, 1825, 60 "Arapahoes" (Gros Ventres) attacked Ashley's expedition,

ran off the horses, and wounded William Sublette.¹⁸ The Americans were forced to cache some of their pelts, which the Gros Ventres then stole and sold to Hudson's Bay Company traders.

American trappers were not safe even west of the Rocky Mountains. Ashley's expedition of 1827 made its summer rendezvous at Bear Lake in north Utah in June, camping with a large band of Shoshones who pleaded for the white men's protection. The Shoshones reported that the Gros Ventres had wiped out one of their bands earlier in the year and had attacked several of their hunting parties.

Three days after the rendezvous began, a band of 120 Gros Ventres attacked the Shoshones, killing three men and two women who were digging roots some distance from their camp.¹⁹ Led by William Sublette, the American mountain men rushed to the Shoshones' aid and forced the Gros Ventres to retreat to a stand of timber on a mountain side above the rendezvous, where the Indians began constructing breastworks out of logs. The 300 Americans and their Shoshone allies attempted to surround the Gros Ventres, but the thick undergrowth around the Indians' log fort prevented them from doing so. After six hours of fighting, the Gros Ventres retreated, leaving behind six dead warriors but taking all of the Shoshones' horses.²⁰ The Shoshones lost eleven killed while one white trapper was wounded in the fight.²¹

The Bear Lake rendezvous of 1828 also began with a battle between the trappers and the Gros Ventres. A Gros Ventre war party numbering 200 warriors attacked a party of 30 Americans led by Robert Campbell while the white men were en route to Bear Lake. The Americans retreated to a stand of willow trees and managed to repulse the Gros Ventres' repeated charges.²² After four hours of fighting, the white men's ammunition was so depleted that Campbell and a companion mounted the party's fastest horses and galloped through the attackers to get help.²³ The two Americans managed to elude a small party of Gros Ventres who gave chase and rode eighteen miles to the rendezvous site. Seventy white men and several hundred Shoshones returned with Campbell to the scene of the battle, only to find that the Gros Ventres had retreated, carrying off \$5,000 worth of pelts, 40 horses and several packs of trade goods.²⁴ Two of Campbell's men died in the fight.

The Gros Ventres involved in the two battles of Bear Lake were southward migrating bands that had left their homes on the upper Missouri and were traveling to the Arkansas to visit their Arapaho kinsmen. Gros Ventre traditions attribute this migration in the late 1820s to Old Bald Eagle, a chief whose wife had run off with another man. Old Bald Eagle followed the lovers to their sanctuary among the Arapahoes and stayed there for several years. Smaller Gros Ventre bands, led by Bear Tooth, Elk Tongue and Iron Robe, also migrated south to the Arkansas during this period. Since one of the Gros Ventres' major



Mexkemaustan (Stirring Iron) Atinsa Chief

migration routes followed the Green River divide to the southern end of Bear Lake before turning east toward South Pass, Ashley and Campbell had camped directly in the Indians' line of march.

Despite these attacks, American mountain men continued to operate in Gros Ventre country, pursuing the quick riches available to the successful trapper. Few of these men successfully eluded Gros Ventre war parties. In 1832, for example, Thomas Fitzpatrick was attacked by a Gros Ventre hunting party while he was setting traps on the Green River in Wyoming. Although Fitzpatrick avoided them by hiding in a cave above the river for three days, he stumbled upon a Gros Ventre camp shortly after leaving his sanctuary. The Gros Ventre warriors forced him to abandon his pack animals and chased him until his horse gave out. To escape his pursuers, Fitzpatrick climbed up a cliff above the Green River and hid among the rocks. The Gros Ventres camped below Fitzpatrick's hiding place, and while he watched they divided his pelts, equipment and horses. Fitzpatrick hid for another two days while the Gros Ventres searched for him, and then he slipped away at night, making his way on foot to the trappers' rendezvous at Pierre's Hole.²⁵

When Fitzpatrick arrived at Pierre's Hole on July 8, 1832, he found there several trappers whom the Gros Ventres had recently robbed. Among these was William Sublette's Rocky Mountain Fur Company brigade, which had been attacked by the Gros Ventres and lost many horses

on the Lewis fork of the Snake River in early July. Sublette had rescued several small parties of trappers employed by the firm of Gant and Blackwell, who were too weak to defend themselves from the Indians.

The rendezvous of 1832 broke up on July 17 and one party of trappers, led by Milton Sublette, set out toward the Snake, camping eight miles from Pierre's Hole. The following morning Sublette and his men broke camp, but had gone only a short distance when they ran into 400 Gros Ventres.²⁶ This Gros Ventre band, led by Baihoh and Iron Robe, was part of Old Bald Eagle's people, returning from a six-year sojourn among the Arapahoes. These Gros Ventres had already gained wide notoriety for their harassment of American and Mexican traders on the Santa Fe trail.²⁷ They had amassed an enormous herd of horses stolen from ranches in northern Mexico and were returning to their own hunting grounds on the northern plains via the Green River valley and the Three Tetons.

The Gros Ventres displayed a British flag to Sublette's party as an indication of their peaceful intentions. Baihoh, holding aloft a calumet, advanced on horseback towards the trappers, and was met by a Metis named Godin and a Flathead warrior. Godin smiled, grasped Baihoh's hand in a gesture of friendship, and ordered the Flathead to shoot. As the Gros Ventre chief fell from his horse, Godin seized his red Mexican blanket as a trophy and galloped back to the trappers.²⁸

The Gros Ventres immediately retreated to a stand of timber on the banks of Pierre's River, and began constructing a log barricade. Sublette's party was meanwhile reinforced by 200 white men and 500 Flatheads and Nez Perce allies.

Holding a council of war, the leaders of the trappers (the Sublette brothers, Robert Campbell and Fitzpatrick) recommended a frontal assault on the fort, but the faint-hearted shouted down this suggestion and many of them returned to the trappers' camp. At William Sublette's insistence, 30 of the remaining trappers attempted to storm the Gros Ventres' stronghold. Crawling through underbrush toward the fort, Sublette's men burst into a clearing in front of the redoubt but were driven back by gunfire, losing 23 men. The excited and undisciplined white men were unable to devise an acceptable new strategy. Instead, they divided into small groups and crept toward their enemies' makeshift fort, concealing themselves behind trees and in ravines. Zenas Leonard, a trapper who took part in the battle, noted that the trappers crawled forward "upon our hands and knees" but were unable to reach the redoubt. Of the four men in Leonard's party, only Leonard escaped unscathed.²⁹ The Nez Percés and Flatheads, believing their enemies to be doomed, made several desperate charges, attempting to count coup, and lost a number of warriors as a result.

John B. Wyeth reported that the battle continued until nightfall.³⁰ At that point Sublette suggested setting the

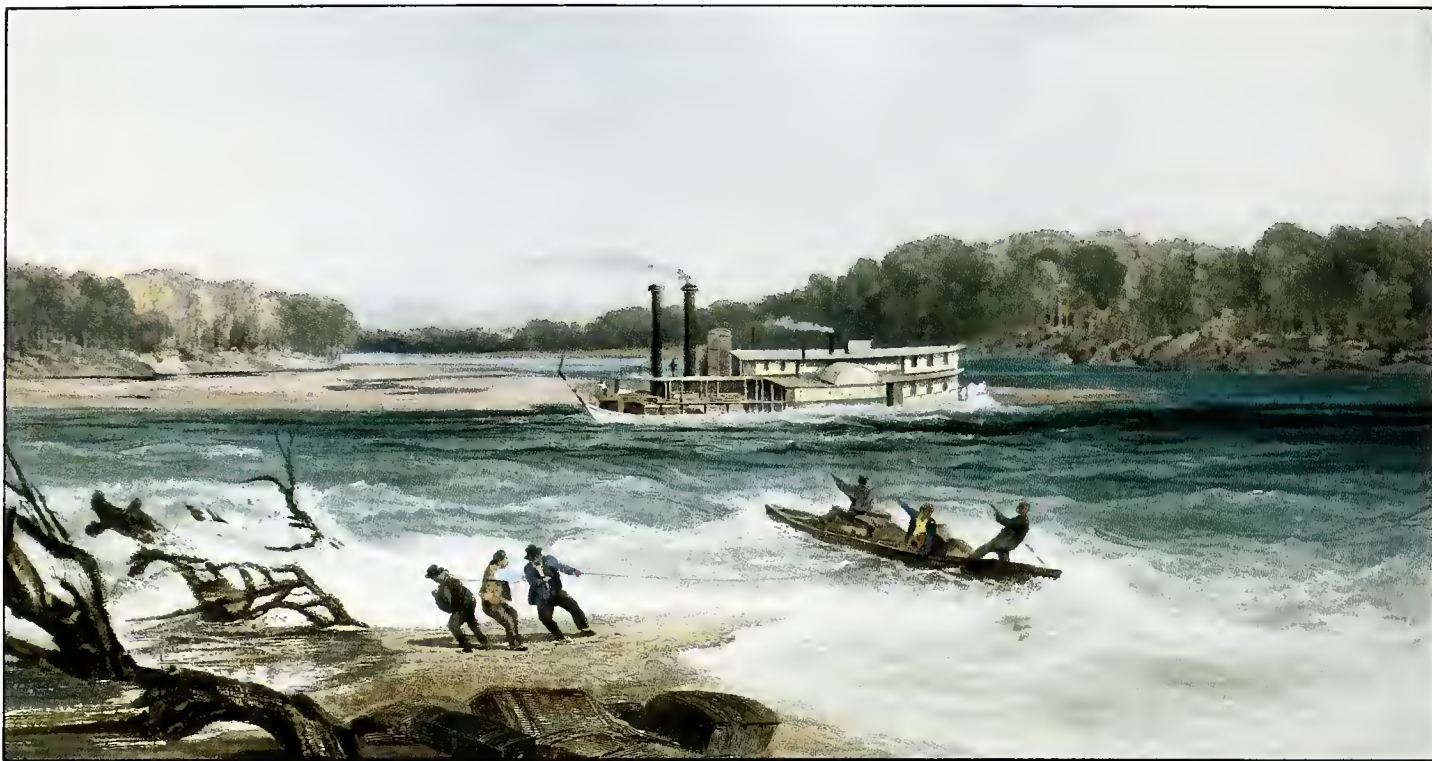
fort afire. His Indian allies objected to this plan because it would destroy their chance of plundering the fort, but they were ignored. Sublette's plan was frustrated, however, by what Leonard called "a most ingenious and well executed device of the enemy."³¹ According to Leonard, the Gros Ventres "commenced the most tremendous shouts of triumph and menaces of defiance, which seemed to move heaven and earth."³² A rumor spread through the American ranks that a Blackfeet war party was ransacking their main camp and killing the trappers, women and greenhorns who had remained there. The white men and their Indian allies rushed back to Pierre's Hole to face this new "threat" but discovered that they had been deceived. The trappers waited until dawn to resume their attack and then discovered that the Gros Ventres had escaped.³³ They left behind 20 dead and 30 horses (including Fitzpatrick's, which he reclaimed) while 32 of the trappers and their Indian allies lost their lives.

Militarily, the battle of Pierre's Hole was a draw. The Gros Ventres' warriors, burdened by women and children, posed no real threat to the trappers. From a practical viewpoint, it is unlikely that Baihoh and Iron Robe intended to fight since they had peacefully approached Sublette's party. The battle proved costly to the white men since it increased the Gros Ventres' hostility and resulted in attacks on several trapping parties later that year.

The first victims of the Gros Ventres' revenge were a party of eleven trappers led by Alfred Stephens, who left Pierre's Hole on July 25. They were attacked by a Gros Ventre war party and three of the white men were killed.³⁴ The Gros Ventres were joined by Eagle Rib's small band of Blackfeet, who normally hunted with them, even traveling as far south as the Platte to visit the Arapahoes. Eagle Rib's warriors attacked Henry Vanderburgh's American Fur Company brigade in October, killing Vanderburgh and another trapper. In March, 1833, Gros Ventres ran off Christopher (Kit) Carson's horses and fired on Carson and his companions. The Gros Ventres refused to let him trap beaver on their lands, despite his marriage to an Arapaho woman which made him their kinsman.³⁵

The Gros Ventres also tracked down the survivors of the Vanderburgh expedition and attacked them near the headwaters of the Missouri in April, 1833. After chasing the trappers into a log redoubt, the Indians asked to parley and demanded presents which the white men gave them as a means of saving their scalps.³⁶ Benjamin Bonneville, whose trapping party bartered whiskey and tobacco to the Gros Ventres for beaver pelts and horses (after the Gros Ventres had stolen most of Bonneville's pack animals), regarded them as the most troublesome Indians on the northern Great Plains.³⁷ Other American trappers would have agreed with Bonneville.

The Gros Ventres' thirst for revenge after the Battle of Pierre's Hole also extended to the white men's Indian allies. A Gros Ventre party of 300 warriors invaded the



The Steamer Yellow-Stone on the 19th April, 1833. This vessel was Bodmer and Maximillian's mode of travel for 1,500 miles.

Snake River valley in March 1833 and attacked a Nez Perce village. One of the Nez Perce chiefs, whom the whites called Blue John, attempted to draw off the enemy by circling behind them and stealing their extra ponies. The Gros Ventres trapped Blue John and his 30 followers in a canyon and killed all but one.³⁸

While the tribulations of the mountain men and their Indian allies did not end with the Battle of Pierre's Hole, neither did the Gros Ventres'. Several months after the battle, a Crow war party surprised the Gros Ventres as they traveled to visit their Blackfeet allies. A dozen warriors were killed and almost 100 women and children were captured. In a few days the Crows released their captives and sent them home with a peace offering of tobacco and horses. The Crows had apparently mistaken the Gros Ventres for marauding Sioux.

The Battle of Pierre's Hole and its aftermath marked the last large-scale conflict between the Gros Ventres and the Americans on the Missouri. In 1831 the American Fur Company had begun to abandon the fur brigade system. The expense and danger involved in outfitting and maintaining a brigade in Indian country encouraged the Americans to adopt the Hudson's Bay Company system of offering trade goods to Indians who would collect furs to barter with them.

Kenneth McKenzie, the American Fur Company's chief agent on the upper Missouri, had opened trade relations with the Piegiens in 1830. In 1831 McKenzie's lieutenant, James Kipp, built a post at the mouth of the Marias called Fort McKenzie, and began trading whiskey, tobacco, guns, blankets and other goods to the Piegiens and their allies.³⁹

McKenzie's second post (Fort Union) at the mouth of the Yellowstone, also became a center of Blackfeet-Gros Ventre trade. The Indians offered tallow, pemmican, buffalo meat, buffalo robes and beaver pelts in exchange for trade goods. McKenzie dispensed liberal amounts of firewater, tobacco and peace medals to impress the Gros Ventres and their allies. His steamboat, the "Yellowstone," which was used to transport furs downriver to St. Louis, was regarded with awe by the Indians. They believed McKenzie was a powerful shaman who could make the boat belch steam and smoke. This display of McKenzie's "medicine" enhanced his reputation among the Indians.

The Gros Ventres settled into a pattern of trading buffalo robes and fine furs along the Missouri while carrying their supplies of beaver pelts to the British posts in western Canada, since the British lacked rafts to transport heavy hides by water to York Factory. Observers who witnessed the Gros Ventres' relations at American trading posts portrayed them as peaceful entrepreneurs. Prince Maximilian of Wied, a gentleman-naturalist who came from Germany in 1832-1834 to study the Indians of the upper Missouri, traveled with fur trader David Mitchell and his party upriver on boats provided by the American Fur Company.

The German naturalists encountered a Gros Ventre party while traveling by boat between Fort Union and Fort McKenzie. The Gros Ventres, who were led by a medicine man named French Child and a chief called Iron-Which-Moves, motioned from the river bank for the Americans to stop and trade.⁴⁰

Although Maximilian reported that the Americans were fearful of the Gros Ventres' reputation for violence



Fort Union on the Missouri.

(they had recently destroyed a British post in Canada and killed eleven white men there), Mitchell ordered the keelboat stopped and lowered a boat. Mitchell had the Gros Ventres chiefs rowed out to the keelboat where he gave them presents and passed around a calumet.⁴¹ Several Gros Ventre women who had accompanied the chiefs on board attempted to pilfer small items or were offered for sale by male relatives. In an effort to clear the Gros Ventres from his boat, Mitchell sent a trading party ashore and remained several hours until the Gros Ventres were satisfied with their transactions and moved on.⁴² Mitchell discounted the Gros Ventres' reputation for treachery and informed Maximillian that he had "always transacted business with them with pleasure."⁴³

Maximillian's party encountered another Gros Ventre band during their stay at Fort McKenzie. The Gros Ventre chief Eh-Siss (The Sun) was especially friendly to the Americans, embracing and kissing his white friends at the fort.⁴⁴

Maximillian summed up his estimation of the Gros Ventres by calling them expert beggars and horse thieves, and noting that they had a great desire for American trade goods. Their method of dressing buffalo robes, by bleaching them with white clay and then decorating them with transverse stripes of porcupine quills, was widely admired by other tribes and brought a good price at the trading posts. Gros Ventre women, who possessed a reputation for beauty and voluptuousness, were sought after by white men as country wives and companions.

Many traders who dealt with the Gros Ventres praised their friendliness toward American traders and noted their hostility toward white trappers.⁴⁵ Like most tribes, the Gros Ventres resented the presence of trappers who destroyed buffalo, disturbed small game and competed with them for beaver pelts. The white trappers were a threat to the Gros Ventres' livelihood and even their existence, since the trappers deprived them of the pelts and robes they needed to purchase guns, ammunition, tobacco and other goods. Since the Gros Ventres and their Blackfoot allies occupied a country in which beaver and other furbearing animals were plentiful, white men frequently trespassed on the Gros Ventres' lands.

The Gros Ventres struggled to keep the white trappers from intruding on their hunting grounds while effectively exploiting this wealth for themselves. As they made war on trappers, the Gros Ventres maintained a profitable and steady commercial alliance with American traders, who provided them with the items they wanted. The Gros Ventres effectively blocked the advance of the American fur trappers on the upper Missouri. In doing so they helped insure the demise of the mountain man in the northern Rockies.

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*Note: The editorial staff of **Annals of Wyoming** wish to thank the author for procuring the full color illustrations used in this article. They are lent by the InterNorth Art Foundation/Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska. This is the first occasion on which an **Annals** article has been illustrated with full color reproductions of paintings.*

The Case for Domestic Feminism: Woman Suffrage in Wyoming

by
Virginia Scharff

Introduction:

Historians of woman suffrage in Wyoming have until now failed to address the role of Victorian notions about women in shaping suffragist activity, as well as women's endeavors in other areas. Women of the period would certainly have entertained the notion that domesticity and deference could be deployed on behalf of feminist goals. This article seeks to reconstruct the "separate spheres" of women and men in the Sweetwater mining settlements that sent William Bright to the legislature in 1869, in order to understand how women in those communities might have worked to secure their enfranchisement. Building on recent historiography in women's history and research in Wyoming archival sources, it argues that in spite of fragmentary sources and women's attempts to cover their tracks, some Sweetwater women contributed materially to their own enfranchisement, and that such women deserve credit for political savvy of a kind previously little understood.

In 1869, William H. Bright of South Pass City, Wyoming Territory, introduced the first successful bill in American history to fully enfranchise women. Wyoming historian T. A. Larson has written, "What is important is what happened to the bill, and why, after it was introduced."¹ Such a view, however, makes women the objects rather than the subjects of historical inquiry, passive if interested spectators to men's public, official actions. Private events have often had public consequences, particularly in sex-segregated Victorian America where half the population was theoretically restricted to the private sphere. This paper investigates the social context in which Bright came forward to advocate a reform which was gaining support, but which was still widely seen as the radical goal of a few eccentric women. I will argue here that the factor most neglected by previous students of woman suffrage in

Wyoming is the role of the domestic Victorian woman, a shrouded figure constrained by social mores to remain publicly silent, and whose private opinions would not necessarily have been reflected in public agitation. Those Victorian women may have been excluded from public power, but they often ruled the private sphere. Such women played a major role in building the community that elected Bright.

The largest of three isolated settlements on the crest of the Continental Divide in Sweetwater County, Wyoming, South Pass City was a microcosm of American Victorian culture. At the same time, the ever present need to improvise solutions to the problems of life on the frontier created some flexibility in normally rigid Victorian social structure. Men outnumbered women four to one in this town of 460 souls, and public life was masculine in the extreme during the summer mining season.² Alcohol appears to have been central to male social life. Seven retail liquor dealers, three breweries and one liquor wholesaler conducted business in the town.³ Public activity in South Pass City and its sister towns of Atlantic City and Hamilton City, more commonly known as Miner's Delight, revolved around the gold mines and the saloons, and though not as rowdy as life in the railroad towns of southern Wyoming, doubtless proved lively enough. Chicago journalist James Chisholm noted that the miners engaged in gambling and "drinking to a considerable extent," and that, "a vast amount of gold dust is ground in the whisky mill."⁴ The quantity and content of saloon advertisements in *The Sweetwater Mines*, *The South Pass News* and *The Frontier Index* suggests that public life was identified with the bars to a staggering degree. One advertiser maintained that, "There is no better appetizer than one of [this



AMH COLLECTIONS

“drinking to a considerable extent,”

establishment’s] cocktails taken before breakfast in the morning,” and *Mines* editors Warren and Hazard frequently recommended their favorite watering holes in the editorial columns of the paper.⁵

Most women in South Pass City avoided this kind of public activity, remaining essentially invisible at home. The only recorded incident in which a South Pass housewife entered a saloon that was open for business involved a husband who had “imbibed somewhat in excess”:

When the wife sent one of the children down to tell him to come home, he had the child return to deliver the message that he was too drunk to come home and if she wanted him to return home, they would have to come after him with the wheelbarrow. This they did.⁶

The town appears to have upheld the notion of women’s public invisibility, and to have credited the Victorian maxim that a woman’s name should never appear in print but twice, once to herald her marriage and again to announce her death. *The Sweetwater Mines* reported the birth of a baby girl with regrets that, “Nature has so willed it that the first child born in Sweetwater shall not become a *miner*. It may aid, however, in developing the country.” Neither mother nor daughter were mentioned by name in the paper, though the father’s name appeared in the birth notice.⁷

By the middle of the 19th century, the cult of woman as mother, nurturer and guardian of the home had been fully conceived. Sentimental novels and popular magazines like *Godey’s Lady’s Book* shaped an ideology which assigned women responsibility for upholding national morality as well as wholesome, loving and gentle rule in the home. The Victorian mother, pure, pious, submissive and do-

mestic, was also a “mother of civilization.”⁸ Through abiding love, Christian piety, careful preservation of the family’s domestic refuge and her own stainless example, she would teach her children to control destructive passions. The mother was to guide her sons away from activities men were known to fall into when the influence of female purity was lacking—gambling, drinking and fighting, for example. Women were expected to exert such influence entirely within the private sphere assigned to them, while men took care of public business.

The system of separate spheres meant that women were entirely isolated from political and economic power, but it also gave women a power base in the home, upon which they built a distinctly female subculture.⁹ Strong personal relationships among women bound together a domestic culture that occupied itself with home management, child-rearing, childbirth, nursing, religious activity, education and benevolent associations. The community of female kin and neighbors had been a mainstay of women’s lives in Eastern towns, and was further reinforced by men’s absences during the Civil War. Women moving west endeavored to preserve what they could of their own culture against heavy odds, even as necessity forced them to assume traditionally male responsibilities. Most pioneer women held fast to their own ideas about woman’s sphere and assumed that it was their duty to bring domesticity, culture and stability to the frontier.¹⁰

The stage that carried William and Julia Bright to the Sweetwater mining area in July of 1868 also brought Major Patrick Gallagher and his wife Frances to the district. Like Julia Bright, Frances Gallagher was 24 years old and making an attempt to create “domestic comfort under the most

unpromising circumstances."¹¹ We know more about Frances Gallagher than we do about Julia Bright because James Chisholm boarded with the Gallaghers in Miner's Delight. Chisholm expressed great admiration for Frances Gallagher's willingness to consent to a life in a mining camp that offered her little society. Only three other women lived in Miner's Delight at that time, none of whom were close to Gallagher in age, interests or social position. Chisholm commented, in the language of Victorian chivalry:

Apart from woman in the abstract, for whom I retain an unspeakable veneration, she must be a brave soul who, accustomed to the refinements of life, can voluntarily front the hardships and perils of a mining camp like this, far in the remote wilderness, that she might be the sharer of her husband's fortunes for better or worse.¹²

Frances Gallagher could not always keep up the brave front, however. According to Chisholm, who occasionally acted as her confidante, "She sometimes pines for home so pinefully [sic] that I get quite sympathetic on the subject."¹³ In the larger Sweetwater settlements, women might fend off loneliness with daily visits to one another. Major Gallagher does not appear to have been privy to his wife's confidences. Perhaps it was easier for Frances Gallagher to bare her soul to a literary outsider than to her own husband. Apparently women's public silence did not prevent private conversations with compassionate men in the Sweetwater. Frances Gallagher sought community

where she could, and viewed herself as a community builder, since she was among the first residents of the area to teach school.¹⁴

Against the transient current of mining camp life, Sweetwater district women worked to create community and stability. Janet Sherlock Smith, whose descendants have persisted in the South Pass area though the gold mines have long ceased to yield profit, told historian Grace Raymond Hebard that she thought South Pass City had been rather a law-abiding town, given the fact that Methodist-Episcopal services had been held there, and that there had never been a lynching.¹⁵ Smith, who was the most successful of the town's handful of women lodging-house keepers, was as celebrated for her fulfillment of the Victorian ideal as for her considerable financial acumen. Her grandson, James Sherlock, recalled an incident in which Janet Smith reputedly prevented the only lynching that might have marred the town's record. A man named Al Tomkins had shot and killed George McOmie, Smith's brother, and a mob gathered in the town's main street to hang Tomkins without benefit of trial. James Sherlock wrote that:

Hearing of the plot, grandmother in her devout Christian and characteristically kind and sensible manner, interceded. She said that her loss was already great enough without having this man's blood on her hands, and she knew that in living with his own conscience and Divine judgement, the man would receive his just punishment.¹⁶

Fashion Plates from *Godey's Ladies' Book* Illustrated the 1860s Ideal of American Womanhood. On the Frontier, It Was Difficult To Maintain Such an Elegant Image.





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South Pass City . . . some years after frontierswomen strove to recreate the social, moral and religious amenities of the East.

It should be noted that Janet Smith's acceptance of responsibility for civic morality, combined with her piety and modesty, was tinged with what must be called a certain prudishness. She did tell Hebard that church services had been held in town, but she neglected to mention that since no church was ever constructed, the devout were forced to meet in the Magnolia Saloon.¹⁷ The frontier might force the use of public buildings for contradictory purposes, but the Victorian frontierswoman need not acknowledge the irony.

Aside from women's participation in the town's religious life, local newspapers record only one other instance in which women contributed to public social life, and that in a typically feminine manner. At Christmas time in 1868, when winter had driven off most transient fortune hunters, the women of South Pass City, Atlantic City and Miner's Delight combined their efforts in a Christmas party described by *The Sweetwater Mines* as "the first social gathering of our people." The newspaper, referring to women by initials and titles only (Mrs. S., Miss T.) presumably to preserve feminine modesty, apparently endorsed the notion that barroom gatherings of men could not properly be termed "social gatherings," and acknowledged the women's contribution in observing that they "furnished a most excellent supper and overcame obstacles which would have appalled anyone except women."¹⁸

Recent research in 19th century American family life suggests that the female pose of public deference was counterbalanced by a corresponding growth of women's power and autonomy within the family. Quantitative historian Daniel Scott Smith labelled this phenomenon "domestic feminism."¹⁹ Women who would never have considered overstepping the bounds of femininity by speaking their minds in public places expressed themselves at home, sometimes forcefully. Patriarchal Victorian

ideology held that women would be most effective at getting what they wanted by using gentle persuasion, but Mrs. Carr's employment of the wheelbarrow in bringing a drunken husband home provides a glimpse into a domestic life in which women were neither deferential nor overly concerned with preserving an atmosphere of peace and quiet. Some of the jokes printed in *The Sweetwater Mines* echo the theme of women's assertiveness at home:

A cynical journalist says the reason so many marriages occur immediately after a war, is that bachelors become so accustomed to strife that they learn to like it, and after the return of peace, they enlist in matrimony as the next thing to war.²⁰

"None but the brave deserve the fair." No, and none but the brave can live with some of them.²¹

I would like to suggest that domestic feminists were of two kinds, those who did act authoritatively within the confines of woman's sphere, and those whose apparently submissive or gently persuasive behavior covered growing feminist convictions. Further, as women's power grew at home, their sphere of influence gradually widened. South Pass City's women were earning the respect due them for their role in community building, providing the town with a social life outside the saloons, and participating in religious and educational activity. Most were middle-class housewives who served as models of domesticity, working to re-create the home-based culture that had sustained them back in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and Missouri. They also saw themselves as the most effective brake on frontier violence. Meanwhile, back in those home states, more and more women were confronting the system of separate and unequal spheres by stepping into politics as public advocates of woman suffrage and of temperance. As Wyoming Territory set about organizing its first government, the questions of extension of the franchise to women and blacks engaged the nation, and women took to public platforms in the name of reform.



Esther Morris

Most Victorian women, however, would have protected themselves from the public censure that was heaped upon female orators, preferring to pursue their goals more covertly. Many women followed the lead of pioneer women's educator Mary Lyon, who had masked her desire to innovate on women's behalf with a veneer of female deference. Lyon had written her friend Zilpah Grant in 1837 with regard to her plan to found Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, cautioning:

It is desirable that the plans relating to the subject should not seem to originate with *us* but with the benevolent *gentlemen*. If the object should excite attention there is danger that many good men will fear the effect on society of so much female influence, and what they will call female greatness.²²

Where evidence of women's public assertiveness was concerned, social attitudes had become no less repressive by 1869. In looking for women's role in the introduction of Wyoming's woman suffrage bill, most previous scholars have sought suffrage organizations and other signs of women's public activity on behalf of their enfranchisement. Wyoming Territory was, however, newly settled and organizationally underdeveloped in any case. We must also take Victorian social pressures into account and look for women's activism where it would have been most likely to occur. The fragmentary evidence we have suggests that there was in South Pass City at least one openly avowed suffragist woman, the redoubtable Esther Morris, and that

even she softened her public activities with as much becoming female modesty and maternal nurture as a six-foot tall, 180-pound person could muster. Further, in the vague person of Julia Bright, we begin to see a woman all but lost to history, whose complete acceptance of the domestic Victorian female role was mixed with a desire to see that women had the vote. Julia Bright theoretically had no more power over her husband than any other woman of her kind, but William Bright was one of twenty-odd men in Wyoming who were in a position to affect women's rights in the Territory. Julia Bright thus held a disproportionate share of power, and we will presently see how she exercised that power.

Fifty-six year old Esther Morris arrived in South Pass City in the summer of 1869, joining her husband and three sons.²³ She has been described as a woman of "strong character, positive will, and dominating spirit [who] would attract attention in any company . . . with her boys, what she said was law."²⁴ T. A. Larson has written that Morris, "was not the usual type of reformer, since she campaigned for no public office for herself or others, wrote nothing for publication, and made no public addresses except for very brief remarks on few occasions."²⁵ In spite of the fact that Morris did address at least one suffrage convention at some length, Larson's assessment is essentially correct. Morris warned women, "Do not agitate. . . . The women can do nothing without the help of men. It is a rule of life that we must all work together."²⁶

Not long after Morris moved to South Pass City, the Territory held its first elections. Reconstruction tensions were evident in territorial politics. *The Frontier Index*, the press on wheels that moved westward through Wyoming as the Union Pacific railroad progressed, left no uncertainty about its position on votes for blacks or women, proclaiming at the head of its editorial column:

As the emblem of American Liberty, *The Frontier Index* is now perched upon the summit of the Rocky Mountains, flaps its wings over the Great West, and screams forth in thunder and lightning tones, the principles of the untiried anti-Nigger, anti-Chinese, anti-Indian party—Masonic Democracy!!!!!!

The Motto of this Column: Only WHITE MEN to be naturalized in the United States. The RACES and SEXES in their respective spheres as God Almighty originally created them.²⁷

Race hatred was as powerful a force in South Pass City as anywhere in the country. The 1870 census reported that there were twenty blacks in the Sweetwater mining area,²⁸ and some black men had attempted to exercise their newly won right to vote in the Wyoming Territorial elections of September, 1869. Justice J. W. Kingman of the Territorial Supreme Court recalled that:

At South Pass City some drunken fellows with large knives and loaded revolvers swaggered around the polls, and swore that no Negro should vote. . . . When one man remarked quietly that he thought the Negroes had as good a right to vote as any of them had, he was immediately knocked down, jumped on, kicked, and pounded without mercy and would have been killed had not his friends rushed into the brutal crowd and dragged him out, bloody and in-

sensible. There were quite a number of colored men who wanted to vote, but did not dare approach the polls until the United States Marshal, himself at their head and with a revolver in hand, escorted them through the crowd, saying he would shoot the first man that interfered with them. There was much quarrelling and tumult, but the Negroes voted.²⁹

The black vote, presumably Republican, had more symbolic than political impact. Masonic Democracy did triumph that year, when Wyoming Territory elected an all-Democratic legislature to go to Cheyenne to do business with President Grant's Republican gubernatorial appointee. Among those elected were William Bright and another South Pass City Democrat, Ben Sheeks, a lawyer who would become the most vocal opponent of Bright's woman suffrage bill.

The question of woman suffrage aroused significant interest in Wyoming that fall. Two feminist speakers, Anna Dickinson and a St. Louis suffragist named Redelia Bates, spoke in favor of votes for women at large meetings in Cheyenne.³⁰ Numerous individuals in the Territory supported woman suffrage, including Secretary of State Edward M. Lee.³¹ It may have been that those who sought to build stable communities in Wyoming concluded that the only way to combat the political influence of the worst "elements common in border communities," and to counteract the Territory's reputation for lawlessness and violence, was to give women the vote.³² Secretary Lee put the matter succinctly: enfranchising women would uplift civilization in the Territory, since, "the average class of women in a new colony is . . . very much superior to the average class of men."³³ Reverend D. J. Pierce, a New England Baptist minister who had recently moved to Laramie, believed that:

We need to intrust our State interests to the class most noted for true character. As a class, women are more moral and upright in their character than men. Hence America would profit by their voting.³⁴

Both Esther Morris and William Bright subscribed to the concept of women's moral superiority, as well as to a racist rationale for woman suffrage then being offered by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony.³⁵ Alienated from radical Republican leaders with whom they had fought for the abolition of slavery as a result of the bitter suffrage contests in Kansas in 1867, Stanton and Anthony had turned to the Democrats for support for their cause.³⁶ These suffragists declared that white women who had served as guardians of the national morality, keepers of the nation's hearth, and mothers of American civilization, were far more deserving of the vote than ignorant former slaves. At the same time, Anthony, Stanton and their good friend Anna Dickinson began to travel around the country lecturing and organizing. On these tours, the feminist activists who had stepped outside woman's sphere into the bright light of public controversy reached a large new audience, gaining the support of women who were not ready to speak or act publicly, but who believed

in the necessity of reforming women's position in American society. Dickinson's well-publicized appearance in Cheyenne has been noted. Anthony spoke to a gathering in Galena, Illinois, sometime in the late winter of 1869, not far from the town of Peru in which Esther Morris was then living.³⁷ Whether or not Morris attended the lecture, she would certainly have been aware of the meeting since the Midwestern newspapers covered the suffragists' tour extensively.

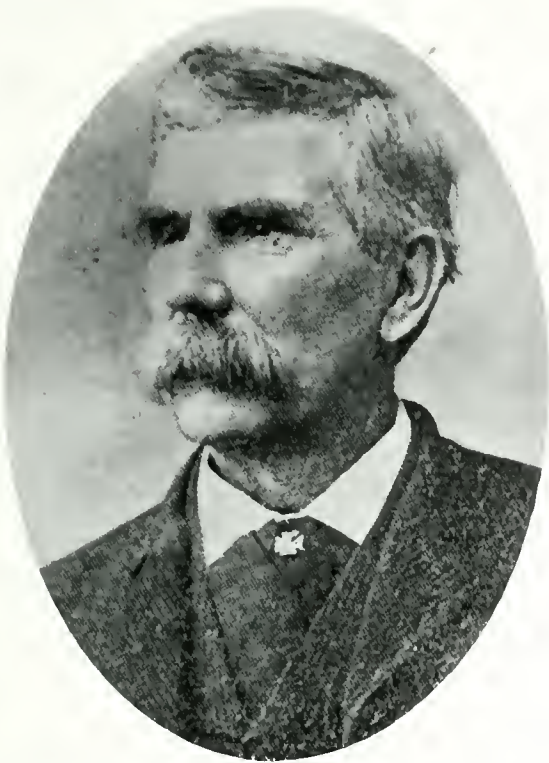
Morris' influence on William Bright is difficult to estimate. Bright, like Morris' husband John, was an unsuccessful miner and saloonkeeper.³⁸ The least convincing but most widely circulated account of Bright's intention to introduce the woman suffrage bill first surfaced in 1919, on the eve of the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. H. G. Nickerson, who had lost the legislative seat to Bright in 1869, claimed 50 years later that he too had been an early convert to the cause of woman suffrage. According to Nickerson's story, Esther Morris had held a tea party in her home some time before the election, inviting himself and William Bright as well as most of the women of the town. Morris allegedly asked both candidates to promise to introduce the woman suffrage question in the legislature should either be elected, which both candidates agreed to do, knowing how much influence wives had over their enfranchised husbands.³⁹ Grace Raymond Hebard popularized the tea party story in a pamphlet titled, "How Woman Suffrage Came to Wyoming (1869)," and most Wyoming school children are familiar with this version of the story. While Nickerson's belated disclosure of his role as an advocate of woman suffrage would seem to undermine his credibility, it is interesting to note that he would have remembered women as political activists only in a domestic setting. Men might discuss public affairs over whiskey at any local saloon; women would have met over tea in somebody's parlor.

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, who succeeded Susan B. Anthony as president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, publicized another explanation of Morris' relation to Bright. According to Shaw, Morris was a skilled midwife who helped Julia Bright through a difficult birth. Shaw claimed that Bright:

told Mrs. Morris that if there was any measure she wished put through for the women of the territory, he would be glad to introduce it. She immediately took him at his word by asking him to introduce a bill enfranchising women, and he promptly did so.⁴⁰

While this story of Bright's motivation enjoyed popularity among suffragists, it is contradicted by the fact that the 1870 Territorial census lists Salt Lake City as the birthplace of Julia Bright's only child, William, Jr.

If gentle feminine persuasion was nearly as effective as the Victorians claimed, a more plausible explanation of William Bright's reason for championing woman suffrage is that Julia Bright in some way convinced him to introduce the bill. No record of Julia Bright's reasons for believing



W. H. Bright



Benjamin Sheeks

in woman suffrage remains, but Justice Kingman wrote that William Bright "did his wife's bidding," and that:

[Bright's] character was not above reproach, but he had an excellent, well-informed wife and he was a kind, indulgent husband. In fact, he venerated his wife and submitted to her judgement and influence more willingly than one could have supposed, and she was in favor of woman suffrage.⁴¹

Opponents as well as supporters of woman suffrage were aware of Julia Bright's part in the process that brought the bill before the legislature. Ben Sheeks wrote, in a letter to Grace Raymond Hebard:

Mrs. Bright was a very womanly suffragist and I always understood and still believe that it was through her influence that the bill was introduced. I know that I supposed at the time that she was the author of the bill. What reason, if any, I had for thinking so I do not remember. Possibly it was only that she seemed intellectually and in education superior to Mr. Bright.⁴²

The "womanly" Julia Bright would not have been likely to seek a public forum to express her views. In privately pressing her husband to campaign for woman suffrage, she was working within the system. As a model of Victorian femininity, winning her battles through soft-sell suggestions, Julia Bright was a domestic feminist who never courted public disapproval by carrying on public agitation. At the same time, neither did she claim whatever credit she deserved. Four letters to Grace Hebard, written in 1913 at Hebard's instigation, constitute Bright's entire documentary legacy. In those letters, Bright testifies to her hus-

band's sincere interest in woman suffrage and more importantly to the fact that he was "particularly fond of his home." Hebard had originally written to William Bright to discover his reasons for introducing the suffrage bill, but William had died in 1912. Julia assumed that Hebard was interested in William Bright's history, and the tone of Julia's letter, written when she was 69 years old, in failing health, alone in the world and ready to die, remains deferential and self-effacing to the end. By the time Hebard got around to asking Julia Bright to explain why her husband had introduced the bill, Julia had been dead for four years.⁴³

Wyoming men were not threatened by the enfranchisement of such women, women who seemed to know their place. Edward M. Lee insisted that Wyoming's women voters still rode side-saddle, and not a one "became any less a Christian wife and mother" for having voted:

The pestiferous free-love doctrines, with which the atmosphere of certain Eastern platforms and editorial fields has lately become contaminated, find no converts in this sprightly young territory.⁴⁴

Even Esther Morris, whom Ben Sheeks thought "too manly to influence Bright," acknowledged that, "So far as woman suffrage has progressed in this territory, we are entirely indebted to men."⁴⁵ Julia Bright did inquire after Robert Morris, one of Esther Morris' sons, in a letter to Hebard, indicating that Robert had been a good friend; a letter from Robert to *The Revolution* dated seventeen days after the signing of the woman suffrage bill indicates that

he and his mother, both acknowledged "open advocates" of woman suffrage in the town, went to visit the Bright cabin shortly after the passage of the bill, to thank William Bright for his "services in their behalf."⁴⁶ According to this early letter, William Bright maintained that he had not been "convinced by a woman's lecture or newspaper, for I never heard a woman speak from a rostrum," but Bright may have been convinced by one or more women who knew him well, and knew better than to overstep the bounds of deference.

Domestic feminists in South Pass City appear to have accomplished as much as they could toward enfranchising women, given the exclusion of women from political power. If most men were unsympathetic to suffragist oratory, they would have been more likely to have been influenced by women who were canny enough to put their cases deferentially and in private. We should recall that Esther Morris, the most outspoken suffragist in the town, warned against agitation and insisted that, "while she advocated the elevation of women, she does not wish the downfall of man."⁴⁷

Esther Morris would become the first woman justice of the peace in the world, after the enfranchisement of Wyoming women had opened the door to officeholding as well. Even after she became a public servant, Morris remained true to her maternal, domestic feminine identity. Her first case was a suit against her predecessor for his refusal to surrender the court docket. She went to his house to get the docket:

and found his wife ill, his twin sons crying, and everything in disorder. Judge Stillman was in a foul mood. Besides his having been ousted by a woman, his household was in a distraught state. I had twin sons and knew something of what his trouble was. I stayed and took care of his children and wife, and we became good friends.⁴⁸

Morris sometimes seems to have regarded her judicial responsibilities as variations on the theme of mothering and housekeeping. Stillman's docket was in such disarray, she told a convention of the American Woman Suffrage Association in 1872, that, "She did not want it. It was a dirty docket anyhow, and her son got her a nice clean one for her own use. . . . She knew lawyers would fight, but when they quarrelled before her she merely said, 'Boys, behave yourselves.'"⁴⁹ In her more than eight months of service, Morris heard 26 cases, half-civil, half-criminal, carrying out the duties of her office with distinction. Being a woman, she was considered particularly tenacious in upholding public morality, one report claiming that she was:

especially severe on drunkenness, remorselessly inflicting on every inebriate brought before her the full penalty of the law. Some are said to have tried the effect of tears upon her, but they afterward declared that it did no more good than pouring whiskey down a rathole.⁵⁰

In the presence of motherly justice, offenders behaved like children.

Edward M. Lee, who declared himself pleased to sign

Morris' judicial commission, praised her morally uplifting tenure in his article on "The Woman Movement in Wyoming":

She at once familiarized herself with the principles of common law and with the Territorial statutes . . . Her court sessions were characterized by a degree of gravity and decorum rarely exhibited in the judicature of border precincts . . . During her administration a decided improvement in the tone of public morals was noticeable.⁵¹

In spite of the fact that her appointment had attracted national attention, and that Morris was a public officeholder, Lee chivalrously omitted mention of Morris' name throughout the article.

As women began to enter public and political life in increasing numbers, deference and submissiveness defined female behavior less and less. The socially imposed anonymity of the Victorian woman masked women's accomplishments, and the record that remains for us is partial and frustratingly sporadic. Robert Morris wrote that:

They who finish the grand reform of equal rights will no more realize the hard work, self-denial, and suffering it required, than the polisher who has glazed the statute, which has employed so many days' hard work in quarrying and chiselling the rough marble to a beautiful form.⁵²

It is ironic that many of the pioneers in the women's rights crusade may have deliberately obscured their accomplishments. In 1907, long after the issue of woman suffrage had presumably been settled in Wyoming if not the nation, Wyoming suffragists might still be found cautioning each other, "We can do more with our votes when we keep rather quiet. . . . It does not do to let men think we are aggressive."⁵³ Wyoming women had theoretically won political equality, but many continued to acknowledge social inferiority. Could such a contradiction have been easily reconciled with the toast that the men who enfranchised Wyoming's women offered in December, 1869, when Bright's bill became law: "Lovely ladies, once our superiors, now our equals."⁵⁴

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2. U.S. Department of the Interior, *Compendium of the Ninth Census* (June 1, 1870), pp. 372, 592. See also Wyoming Territory Manuscript Census 1870, Western Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming.
3. T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), p. 204.
4. Lola M. Homsher, ed., *South Pass, 1868* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960), p. 73.
5. *Frontier Index*, October 9, 1868; *Sweetwater Mines*, May 27, 1868; May 30, 1868; June 10, 1868.
6. James Sherlock, *South Pass and Its Tales* (New York: Vantage Press, Inc., 1978), p. 44.

7. Sweetwater Mines, June 3, 1868.
8. Mary Ryan, *Womanhood in America* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1975), pp. 143-145. See also Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood; 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (Summer, 1966).
9. John Mack Faragher and Christine Stansell, "Women and Their Families on the Overland Trail to California and Oregon, 1842-1867," in Nancy F. Cott and Elizabeth H. Pleck, eds., *A Heritage of Her Own: Toward a New Social History of American Women* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), p. 249.
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11. Homsher, *South Pass, 1868*, p. 80.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
14. Marjorie C. Trevor, "History of Carter-Sweetwater County, Wyoming to 1875," (M.A. thesis, University of Wyoming, 1954), pp. 111-112.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
16. Sherlock, *South Pass and Its Tales*, pp. 68-69.
17. *South Pass News*, August 31, 1870.
18. *Sweetwater Mines*, December 30, 1868.
19. The most detailed and convincing study in this area is Scott Smith's "Family Limitation, Sexual Control, and Domestic Feminism in Victorian America," *Feminist Studies* 1 (Winter-Spring 1973):40-57.
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22. Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 33.
23. Edward T. James and Janet W. James, eds., *Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 2:319.
24. *Laramie Republican Boomerang*, July 25, 1937.
25. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, p. 93.
26. Mary Lou Pence and Lola Homsher, *Ghost Towns of Wyoming* (New York: Hastings House, 1956), p. 35.
27. September 15, 1868.
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29. Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923), p. 76.
30. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, p. 81. See also Larson, "Dolls, Vassals, and Drudges," and Larson, "Petticoats at the Polls," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 44 (April 1953):74-79.
31. See Edward M. Lee, "The Woman Movement in Wyoming," *The Galaxy* 13 (June 1872):755-760.
32. Allan Grimes has most fully expounded this view of woman suffrage successes in the West in his *The Puritan Ethic and Woman Suffrage* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967).
33. Lee, "The Woman Movement," p. 755.
34. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joselyn Gage, *History of Woman Suffrage*, 3d of 6 vols. (Rochester, New York: Charles Mann, 1887), p. 740.
35. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, p. 80n. Also, William Bright was an active Mason throughout his life. See Julia Bright to Grace Raymond Hebard, April 17, 1913, Grace Raymond Hebard Papers, University of Wyoming Library, Laramie, Wyoming.
36. Ellen Carol Dubois traces the development of the woman suffrage movement in her masterful *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848-1869* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1978). See especially chapters three and four for the background of the emerging movement.
37. Dubois, *Feminism and Suffrage*, pp. 180-183.
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39. H. G. Nickerson, "Historical Correction," *Wyoming State Journal of Lander*, February 14, 1919.
40. Anna Howard Shaw, *The Story of a Pioneer* (New York and London: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1915), p. 243.
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43. Julia Bright to Grace Raymond Hebard, March 28, 1913; April 9, 1913; April 17, 1913; October 19, 1913; Grace Raymond Hebard to Julia Bright, October 15, 1919, Hebard Papers.
44. Lee, "The Woman Movement," p. 759.
45. Esther Morris to Isabella Beecher Hooker, n.d., Hebard Papers.
46. Robert Morris to *The Revolution*, December 27, 1869. Copy in Hebard Papers.
47. *South Pass News*, March 19, 1870.
48. Quoted in Pence and Homsher, *Ghost Towns*, p. 35.
49. *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 16, 1872, clipping in Hebard Papers.
50. Undated news clipping, Hebard Papers.
51. Lee, "The Woman Movement," p. 756.
52. Robert Morris to Cousin Fanny, n.d., 1870. Copy in Hebard papers.
53. T. A. Larson, "Wyoming Contributions to the Regional and National Women's Rights Movement," *Annals of Wyoming* 52 (Spring 1980): 2.
54. Grace Raymond Hebard, "How Woman Suffrage Came to Wyoming (1869)," (n.p., 1920), p. 7.

CLARENCE T. JOHNSTON'S DISSENT:

A Challenge to Gifford Pinchot
and the Conservative Ethos

by Hugh T. Lovin



SHOSHONE RIVER BELOW DAM

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By nearly all accounts, President Theodore Roosevelt's greatest legacies include heeding counsel from Gifford Pinchot, chief of his Forestry Service, who convinced the President to regulate access to what remained of the nation's forests. But the Rooseveltian conservation ethos featured other equally grandiose visions, among them agricultural reclamation of the arid lands that lay beyond the hundredth meridian. There, optimists in the government estimated, were 75,000,000 to 100,000,000 acres awaiting irrigators.¹ However, it was argued, states could not be entrusted to oversee the development of this national agricultural treasure. Congress responded to such representations in 1902, passing legislation reflecting the federalism of Pinchot and his disciples. Not the least of the latter was Frederick Newell, a former president of the American Forestry Association, who soon stood at the helm of the U.S. Reclamation Service.² And in a few years, control of millions of western acres, 8,998,723 alone in Wyoming forest reserves in 1908, passed under the sway of Pinchot and Newell's bureaus.

Far West residents grumbled about the new federal bogeymen, while intermountain state governments challenged the new conservation ethos as Pinchot and Newell administered it; and not always was this resistance, as progressive historiography and preservationist rhetoric would have it, self-serving responses from stockraisers intent on keeping their ranges intact. Indeed, one important Wyoming dissenter, Clarence T. Johnston, challenged the new ethos on the most highminded of grounds. Because of Wyoming geography and climatology, Johnston contended, the ends of the new ethos were contradictory for forest reserves and reclamation tracts ultimately co-existed in his state at the expense of the latter which best served the public weal.

A civil engineer trained at the University of Michigan, Johnston resided in Wyoming, except for several years tenure as a U.S. Department of Agriculture official, before becoming Wyoming State Engineer from 1903 to 1911. He held this post at a time when federal forest resource policies had generated vehement opposition in Wyoming. Politically Johnston was obliged to acknowledge sympathetically the outcries when the U.S. Forest Service restricted usage of the public domain and further alarmed citizens by transferring unforested lands to the national forest system.³ But the duties of Johnston's public office, as well as his personal inclinations, caused him to eye even more critically federal reclamation results in the state. There the fruits of reclamation were unprepossessing. Seemingly the federal bureaucracy had dawdled. One recurring criticism was that the reclamation service practiced engineering perfectionism, while Shoshone project settlers waited until 1910 for a dependable water storage reservoir. Delays in constructing the same essential facilities continued until 1922 and 1924 on the North Platte and Riverton projects.⁴ Likewise annoying, federal reclamation administration was



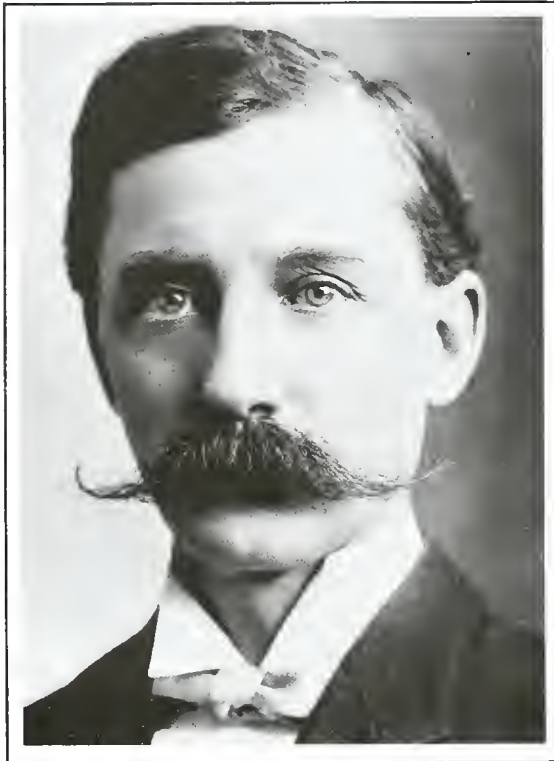
Clarence T. Johnston

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ensnarled in red tape, Johnston complaining that dealing with Newell's bureau "requires some diplomacy [even] to do business."⁵

Worse, in Johnston's thinking, Pinchot's foresters and his U.S. Reclamation Service disciples opposed "everything under private enterprise" at a time when Wyoming's chances for attracting new infusions of capital for developing its resources had never been better. According to Johnston, Newell, just as abrasive as Pinchot and his forestry subordinates, had appointed himself "bell cow" of all reclamation realms and preached that "no person or association can do much for the people but him."⁶ Of all incidents that Johnston encountered in his official duties as State Engineer before 1909, perhaps none better symbolized for him federalism's turn-of-the-century evils than the tribulations of Alexander Toponce. A colorful veteran of Old West mountaineering, mining, cattle drives and who later graduated to frontier business entrepreneur, Toponce had promoted a so-called Grand Canyon Canal scheme to which Johnston gave official approval and his personal admiration. Toponce proposed to tap Greys River water in Wyoming, irrigate certain Wyoming lands west of the Continental Divide and, to make the project financially more viable, extend the irrigation system to 9,000 Idaho acres. But the U.S. General Land Office, at the instigation of Reclamation Service officers, blocked the project for years on pretext of possible federal reclamation of the Idaho lands.⁷

Nor was Johnston alone in such diagnoses. Commenting on western demands for control of its natural resources, a pamphleteer declared: "The East has had its cake and eaten it; in turn the West, too, desires to munch its cookie in its own way."⁸ An Omaha entrepreneur, his plans for Wyoming and Nebraska reclamation tracts thwarted, charged that federal officials attempted "to ride roughshod over every private enterprise."⁹ More important, Wyoming Governor Fenimore Chatterton demanded the ouster of Newell from office in 1904, on grounds that Newell's agency sought a monopoly on reclaiming arid land, and Johnston sighed that at last the neck of one of Pinchot's disciples appeared to be in the noose.¹⁰



Governor Fenimore Chatterton.

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Given this disillusionment with the nation's newest federalism, Johnston encouraged land reclamation in Wyoming at private instigation under the federal Carey Act of August 18, 1894, though he admitted privately that state administration of the law was sometimes defective.¹¹ However, "Newell, Pinchot & Co." remained in power after 1904, much to Johnston's disgust, and he soon renewed his charges that federal administrators unwisely discouraged the development of Wyoming resources by private capital. But no longer did Johnston predict imminent ouster of the federal bogeymen. Instead, he had concluded that eastern university professors, leaders of professional societies and conservation lobbies exercised sufficient clout nationally to sustain Pinchot and his coterie within the government. Moreover, Johnston believed, Pinchot and Newell controlled the influential National Irrigation Congress, making the organization a "one ring circus" for espousing the policies of "our Washington

theorists." Finally, with so many credulous easterners supposedly on Pinchot's side and equally supportive of Newell, Johnston looked for ways to rebut their offending ideas and battle federal officials. As a first step in that direction, he weighed the chances of challenging "Pinchotism" on scientific grounds and raising suspicions of the new conservation ethos among members of his own professional fraternity, those "eastern engineers who are full of Pinchot's ideas."¹²

Meanwhile, the U.S. Forest Service's latest defenses of forest reserves included publishing of evidence that national forests provided flood control and augmented the hydroelectric potential of streams. In 1908, the American Institute of Electrical Engineers reiterated such arguments to Wyoming Governor Bryant B. Brooks, who was also a critic of Pinchot. Brooks instructed Johnston to reply, and the latter made the most of this opportunity to invoke science on the side of western exceptionalism, instruct engineering science on anti-Pinchot viewpoints and, once this dialogue was begun, plead the case for western self-determination on political, social, as well as scientific grounds. Better to appreciate his arguments by letting Johnston speak for himself, the text of his first letter to Charles H. Porter follows:¹³

... I presume that your association [American Institute of Electrical Engineers] has satisfied itself by some scientific experiment as to the basis of theory on which your resolutions are founded. This assumption on my part is natural since you represent scientific men. I am not very well acquainted with conditions in the east . . . My information concerning forest conditions in the West and the effect of forest growth on run-off of streams in the inter-mountain region has come from long years of personal observation and experiment.

Water power is one of the valuable assets of the country. In fact with the improvement of electrical machinery, I look to see the demand for water power sites at a premium from this time forth. There are two factors to be considered in connection with water power development. The first is the volume of water available, and the second is the available head. The regularity of flow of the streams is important, but if you have the water here in the west it can be stored and the discharge of the streams governed thereby.

In the inter-mountain region all of our dangerous floods come from the timbered districts in the mountains. This is natural since our mountains go above timber line, trees growing not higher than from 9,000 to 11,000 feet. Forests break the winds, and this is a country where the wind blows considerably. The snow falls in a blanket in the forested areas and with the return of warm weather it all goes away in a few weeks. Not only do we experience dangerous floods in our streams from this source of supply, but the water carries drift which damages all structures in our creeks and rivers. Our late water, and the discharge which makes our streams, in their normal conditions valuable comes from regions above timber line, and from slopes below where the wind has a free sweep and where the snow lies in great drifts. So much for the effect of forests on run-off in this section of the country.

Unlike much of the eastern part of the United States we suffer from a scarcity of water even when all of the flow is stored. This puts a new phase on the problem of forests and their relation to the water supply, because forests absorb a large volume of water themselves. According to the only scientific data I have, it requires about 500 pounds of water to produce a pound of dry wood matter.

The measurements upon which these figures are based was made by Prof. King of the Agricultural Experiment Station of Wisconsin.¹⁴ It is unnecessary for me to apply these figures in practice, but to call your attention to some matters that appeal to me . . . An ordinary tree will produce about a ton of dry matter in 16 years, including the deposit of leaves shed each year. This means that in the period it has consumed 1,000,000 pounds of water or approximately 16,000 cubic feet. This demand for water seriously effects the flow of our streams. For instance the combined discharge of all streams in the State [Wyoming] is about 11,500,000 acre-feet of water per annum, or a volume that would cover 11,500,000 acres to a depth of one foot. We have something like 10,000 square miles of forest reserves which take up, use and dissipate at least 16,000,000 acre-feet of water per year. The question is, with all the demands upon our streams by irrigators and by those who have installed hydro-electric plants, whether or not the growing of such trees as are common to the Rocky Mountain Region is economical.

You are probably aware that the Bureau of Forestry is a prolific advertiser. Its chief [Gifford Pinchot] is probably one of the best politicians in the service of the Government. He conducts a press agency at the expense of the Government, and he spends much of his time attending conventions in order that his work may be brought before the people. Many of his theories have but little foundation in fact, or from a scientific standpoint. He has made much of the claim that forests have a beneficial influence on streams. He has never proven this. Because your association is of a scientific character . . . I cannot believe that you are following the popular trend of sentiment as it has been directed by the advertising bureaus of [the] Forestry Service.

I believe in protecting the forests and openly advocate the removal of the tariff on foreign lumber for this purpose. Mr. Pinchot cooperates with the Lumber Trust and hence is not in a position to recommend any tariff reforms in this direction. I commend Mr. Pinchot's work in so far as he compels orderly cutting of timber, the protection of forests from fire, etc. I do not follow him blindly, however, in all of his theories, and I believe that he advances these for the purpose of gaining support here and there from those who do not demand to be shown that such theories are based on truth.

I trust that I may hear from you and . . . will appreciate any information that can be considered as scientific and reliable. I do not care to have arguments (?) made which compare a stream in Arizona with one in Oregon. What we need is to have a tree planted or to select one that is planted. Actually measure the volume of water it absorbs in growing; actually measure the volume of deposit of vegetable matter produced by trees; actually measure the volume of water "conserved" by this deposit and find if possible the benefits from the trees through the shade furnished by it or the winds broken by it.

Not persuaded by Johnston's arguments, Porter defended both the Institute's scientific positions and Pinchot's work. But fuller rebuttal of Johnston's "science" and more skillful defense of the Rooseveltian conservation ethos reached Johnston from another member of his professional club. George F. Swain of the engineering faculty at Massachusetts Institute of Technology wrote, his letter here cited nearly verbatim in order to follow closely the debate which Johnston had initiated:¹⁵

. . . you express some doubt as to the desirability of the movement for the acquisition of national forests and . . . you also question the value of forests as regulators of stream flow. As I have been particularly interested in this [conservation] movement . . . I am taking the liberty of writing you to express the hope that you will do nothing to impede this movement even if you feel some doubt as to certain

points involved.

There are four points, any one of which will . . . justify this movement, and I think that every engineer should do his utmost to aid it. The first of these points is the question of timber supply. I trust you have read the report of the Secretary of Agriculture [James Wilson], from which you will perceive the importance of inaugurating, as soon as possible, more scientific methods of forestry under government control for the preservation of our hard wood supply, and also of our supply of pine and spruce. If you could see the wanton destruction which is taking place in some parts of our Appalachian region you would appreciate this better, and if you have occasion to use much timber in your work I think you must be somewhat apprehensive as to what engineers will do ten or fifteen years from now if the price of timber continues to rise, as it surely will if present conditions continue.

The second point is the value of forests in regulating the flow of streams, the third is their office [function] of protecting the soil from erosion, especially on steep slopes, and the fourth is the consequent injury to the navigation of our streams by silting up.

You are perfectly correct in assuming that we have satisfied ourselves as to the theoretical basis for our action. Every scientific authority that I know of, every book on forestry, every book on hydrology, recognizes that forests are great regulators of flow. Any one who takes the opposite ground on this point will put himself in the end in an unfavorable and possibly humiliating position.

I have been interested in reading your remarks with reference to the conditions in the west . . . I cannot believe that the presence of forests increases the violence of floods. This is contrary to all experience elsewhere, as well as to all principles. You say your floods come from forested areas; this may be so, but it is very different from saying that the presence of forests increases floods. If your forests should be cut down, the floods from these areas would surely, on the average increase in volume. It will not do to compare one district which is forested with another district which is not forested because the conditions of the two cannot be identical. In order to have experimental proof it would be necessary to have the same area in one case forested and in the other case deforested under identical conditions of rainfall, etc. There is a very large quantity of evidence with reference to the effect of forests on floods. The experience in Southern France and in other countries of Europe is in direct contradiction to some of the statements or implications in your letter. I cannot believe that snow in a forested area will go off more quickly when warm weather comes than it would from the *same area* if deforested.

With reference to the absorption of water to which you refer, it is . . . true that trees, like every other living organism, evaporate, but it has never been proved to my knowledge that a forest evaporates more of the rain which falls upon the area covered than would be evaporated if there were no covering. While the trees evaporate from their leaves, they diminish the evaporation from the soil itself. Of course, if no rain falls upon an area, or comes to it by underground seepage, trees will not grow . . . [and] it is equally true that in such a case there would be no streams draining the area, and no floods. If a small amount of rain falls, there may be only enough to supply the trees, leaving none to flow off. The conditions in an arid region are no doubt different from those in a wet region. The Appalachian is a comparatively wet region.

There is another point . . . and that is that if the forests *do* increase the total evaporation from the area covered, then they also increase the rainfall . . . The rain which falls comes from the sea and from evaporation from the land. Part of it flows back to the sea and part is evaporated from the land. If you increase the evaporation from the land you increase the moisture in the air to be precipitated. Of course a particular square mile of forested area may not get in any one year any more rainfall, but broadly speaking, if

forests increase the evaporation then they increase the rainfall. But . . . I have never seen any proof that they increase either, and if you are familiar with the writings of foreign experimenters in forest meteorology, such as Ebermayer,¹⁶ you are aware of the fact that they reach about the same conclusion. As I look at it, the great value of the forest is in regulating the flow, and preventing the water which falls from being discharged suddenly into the streams . . .

Of course in this matter as in most others, many people go to extremes . . . It must not be expected . . . that if a region is allowed to grow up into forests the flow [of water] will be made perfectly uniform. There will still be large variations and there will always be floods, but my own study of the matter . . . convinces me, as it has every other careful student whose conclusions I have read, that forests do greatly regulate the flow of streams, and prevent erosion and the consequent filling up of water courses.

Finally . . . I think you will find that measurements similar to those you suggest have been made by foreign observers and I would suggest that you read the work of Ebermayer. It would not seem to me, however, necessary to actually measure the volume of deposit of vegetable matter since it is a matter within the common knowledge of everybody that there is a layer of vegetable matter in forests, produced and preserved by the forests; neither do I quite understand what you mean by measuring the volume of water "conserved" by this deposit.

After this scientific rebuttal to Johnston, Swain chided the Wyoming State Engineer for animus toward Pinchot:

I think you will find on further investigation that your statement that Mr. Pinchot's theories "have but little foundation in fact or from a scientific standpoint" is entirely unjustified and is rather unfair. You say he does not prove his statements, but he certainly has behind him all the best authorities.

I regret especially that you feel as you do toward the Department of Forestry, which I believe is doing a very great and valuable work in which it should be supported by us all. At any rate you may rely upon it that Mr. Pinchot is supported not "here and there," but by a very large body of men who are reasonable and who do not follow anyone blindly but are well informed themselves on the subject.

Johnston bristled at what he judged Swain's preemptory lecturing, and soon he shared Swain's communication with many western state officials and others who supported Johnston's battle against "Pinchotism." Among Johnston's sympathizers, the State Engineer of Idaho complimented Johnston for handling "these gentlemen and their pet hobby without gloves." He called Swain's message an "I-will-explain-this-very-carefully-to-you-if-you-will-pay-strict-attention attitude," but urged Johnston to persist while remaining "charitable" toward Swain and "those [other] theorists" who simply "did not know any better."¹⁷

Johnston, still testy from having yet to gain eastern converts, vented his anger in a first draft of a reply to Swain. But Johnston accepted counsel to revise the draft, particularly dropping his accusations about Pinchot's lukewarm progressivism because of the forester's subservience to the "Lumber Trust," and Johnston consented to adding mollifying references to Pinchot "as a personal friend" whose policies were unwise, "even though . . . fathered by Mr. Pinchot and many men who have position and influence." However, Johnston told his official counterpart

in Idaho that Pinchot's critics in the West must never relent from resisting federalism's newest evils. Better it was, Johnston declared, to "unite [in] some way to show that we think once in a while out here, even though Pinchot may [claim to] have a corner on the grey matter market."¹⁸

Finally, Johnston mailed a lengthy reply to Swain, his response here quoted almost in entirety because it summarizes Johnston's own dissent and, more significantly, constitutes an eloquent précis of the numerous grounds on which other critics also challenged the Rooseveltian conservation ethos. Johnston wrote:¹⁹

. . . I can assure you that I should like to see every precaution taken to insure to ourselves and to those who follow us a supply of cheap lumber. No person enjoys a forest or loves a tree more than I do. The people of the West have been tree planters. I have seen the plains of Iowa changed completely by artificial forests. The same process is going on today in States further West. There are more trees in Wyoming now than there were when the first white man crossed this territory a hundred years or more ago . . .

. . . I realize that the forest conditions of the country east of the Mississippi are far different from those in the Rocky Mountains. I do not believe that many people in the East understand this. I know that much timber has been destroyed in your mountains. While careless cutting of timber should be discouraged, I do not believe in attempting to control private forests. I am further satisfied that when the demand for lumber becomes acute, our government will solve the problem at that time. It seems to me that to become hysterical regarding our lumber supply at this time can benefit no person unless it may be those in charge of the forest service. If lands now devoted to the growing of trees can be made more profitable when put to some other use, it seems reasonable to me that this should be done. Trees will be grown when it becomes profitable to do so. In the meantime Canada and Mexico have almost inexhaustible forests which we can use as soon as the tariff is removed. This seems to be the practical way of protecting our forests now, if they need protection. In my judgment the removal of the tariff on Canadian lumber would afford our forests more protection than the government has thus far rendered in any other way. I have never heard this advocated by any of the adherents of the present forest service policy.

I have read the recent report of the Secretary of Agriculture to which you refer. Having been in the service of the government [as a Department of Agriculture official] I can recognize a report prepared by the Chief of the Forest Service, even though the report is published under the name and authority of the Secretary. I have written similar reports and they have been prepared in a similar way. This [report] relates to the necessity of a more scientific control of forests in order that our hard woods particularly may be preserved and conserved. This is all right. I believe, however, that if national forests, such as we have in the West, are created in the East in such a way as to retard development, they will be as unpopular there as they are here . . . I am in favor of forest reserves controlled wholly in behalf of the people and I should like to see any policy adopted which has for its purpose the preservation of the lumber supply. However, the government should not undertake any work which retards development. This is quickly felt in the newer States where capital comes [in] but slowly. If the present plan of conserving everything until our great grand children can use them is carried out the West must suspend its growth. The engineers from your great [educational] institutions will have to work for the government, the railroads or some municipality. Individual or cooperative effort must cease. I have no private reasons for opposing some of the policies of those who now consider it necessary that they should

think and plan for our welfare. Wyoming has been studied pretty thoroughly by unbiased men. I am in close touch with those who observe and study forest conditions. It is an easy thing for a man to fall into line when popular sentiment has been directed in favor of one policy or another. He follows the line of least resistance. I have followed the discussion of forestry and stream run-off for over twenty years and know well when the theory of benefits to our streams by forest covering was first introduced. I believed it at first because it seemed to be supported by men who should be informed and who should have reasons for their statements. Since that time I have travelled over every Western State. I have been through every important mountain range and have made measurements which have led me to believe that the question is still an open one . . .

Johnston invited Swain to observe at first hand in Wyoming the "relation of forests to run-off" water, a resource not necessarily lost in wet Appalachian regions; but, as Johnston still contended, it was inevitably wasted in quick melting of Rocky Mountain snow in May and June unless man intervened to prevent the loss. Demanding this water resource for irrigators, access to which he believed was thwarted by the forest service with specious flood control rationales, Johnston continued:

You perhaps know that floods do not worry us here. Our aim is to obtain the largest volume of water and to STORE the excess which comes when irrigation is not practiced for the farmer's use during the summer. Trees require a large volume of water in their growth. I do not believe that it is good economy for Wyoming to dedicate a very large volume of water for growing such trees as are natives of this altitude when the water can be utilized to much better advantage by the farmer. I refer you to an article appearing in the Transactions of the American Society of Civil Engineers, Vol. LIX, page 493, by Mr. Raphael Zon, Chief Branch of Silviculture, U.S. Forest Service. His investigations have resulted in his arriving at conclusions very similar to my own. He refers to Prof. Toumey's work in California.²⁰ [However,] you cannot apply results obtained in California to the Rocky Mountain region any more than you can compare Arizona with Oregon . . .

We are not troubled here with floods. Reservoirs properly located will afford us all the protection we will need in this direction and serve to hold flood waters until needed in the summer. I know of no lands in the State that have been damaged by erosion.

Finally, Johnston penned three more pages, again challenging Swain's scientific appraisals before concluding with a peroration on the forest service and its alleged contribution to turn-of-the-century federalism's raw deal for the west. Johnston wrote:

I should like to refer you to Mr. W. H. Rosecrans, C. E., Engineer in charge of hydro-electric development for the Arnold Company of Chicago . . .²¹ He has traveled extensively through the West. He has made special studies relating to forests and their effect on stream flow in connection with his field operations. If any man should be unbiased in his conclusions relating to the question, it is Mr. Rosecrans, because if forests do perform the service claimed for them, it is a matter of dollars and cents to him.

You have some rivers in Maine where the forests covering their drainage areas have been removed many times. If forests there have any marked effect on stream run-off the measurements should show this to be the case. I have made inquiries in this direction and those who have looked into the matter for me, say that the gaugings do not show that the forests have had such an effect as claimed for them. It is very probable that should some of the forests be removed the

snow falling in the winter months would drift and hence melt much more slowly with the return of warm weather.

I think I have every report published in France, Spain and Germany relating to this question. It seems to me in nearly every publication . . . the author has assumed a theory to begin with and has tried to make his field work check with his office conjectures.

I do not believe that you can find an observer of the U.S. Weather Bureau who will support any theory which holds that because forests increase the evaporation they in like manner increase the rainfall. Our [Wyoming] air is extremely dry and we have considerable wind. If the State has ever received any precipitation from moisture evaporated from our own forests, I am thoroughly satisfied that conditions at the time were very unusual indeed.

In a discussion of this kind we must be reasonable in so far as possible. This I have tried to be. When one has been connected with the Government service and finds one or two great bureaus [Forest Service and Reclamation Service] in the advertising business, he has every reason for exercising some caution when it comes to accepting all that may be published. I can send you, if you so desire, daily clippings from Mr. Pinchot's Bureau which are mailed to our papers for the purpose of educating the people. This education does not embrace such articles as that of Mr. Zon . . . but it relates to the policies and politics of the Bureau of Forestry. I do not believe that Mr. Zon's article has ever been published by the department.

I have read the work of Ebermayer. I do not regard his results as applying where conditions are as different as they are in the Atlantic States and the Rocky Mountain Region. Yes, I think in the Rocky Mountain Region the experimenter should measure the volume of vegetable deposit from the forests. We have many forests growing where it would worry the scientist to gather a bushel of any kind of soil on an acre. It is held by all of the advertising literature put out by Mr. Pinchot that the vegetable deposit under the trees "conserves" the moisture and holds the water until later in the season when it passes away into natural channels. If this is true, the water so "conserved" should be measured.

As an engineer, I can honestly say that the average reader who digests the advertising matter published, not only in the newspapers but in magazine of standing, believes all that he reads. There are too many of these kind of people compared with those who read and think at the same time. Some of these articles doubtless apply to your [eastern] forests. They are largely dreams to our people here who understand conditions. As I said before, I am willing to accept any theory which is substantiated by scientific investigation. It may seem that all authorities favor the policies of the Bureau of Forestry. When you study these authorities you will find that by following the circle you will finally come back to the Bureau itself.

I believe Wyoming would be better off if all forested areas were thrown open to settlement. I believe that our lands can be used to better advantage, if we can produce some timber of a commercial kind and I believe that we can; it is a question of whether or not it pays to do so when we consider its quality at best, the value of the lands for other purposes and the tremendous drain on our water supply to maintain them. It should be remembered that a country where the total run-off [water] is insufficient is much different from one which must provide against floods.

I have always been proud of Mr. Pinchot. I like to be able to say that we have produced a man who has led in such an important work, yet there are places where I believe our citizens would be in better condition had the forest reserves not been created, or if created they had been confined to actual timbered areas and land not capable of a higher and better use.

Our great Americans have developed through responsibilities having been placed upon them. As soon as the Government begins to conserve everything and make it impossible for private enterprise to thrive, initiative must cease. Wyoming has absolute control of the

water within its boundaries. No misuse has been made of this resource, in fact we have the model irrigation laws of the world. The user of water is thoroughly protected. The law is framed for the people and not for the speculator. The government has not passed an act which compares with this in so far as the control of any other natural resource is concerned.

Still seeking eastern support among professionals who had defended Pinchot, Johnston referred to Pinchot's

policies as merely unwise, and at last concluded his dissent:

I should like to meet you and talk with you regarding many problems that have arisen here in the West. I should like to have you understand to what extent the West has already suffered because so much of its business must be done at a distance of 2,000 miles and how difficult it is to deal with bureaus where important matters are referred to poorly paid clerks.



1. Paul W. Gates and Robert W. Swenson, *History of Public Land Law Development* (Washington, D.C.: Public Land Review Commission, 1968), pp. 644-646; Benjamin Horace Hibbard, *A History of the Public Land Policies* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965 ed.), pp. 443-444.
2. William Lilley, III and Lewis L. Gould, "The Western Irrigation Movement, 1872-1902: A Reappraisal" in *The American West: A Reorientation*, edited by Gene M. Gressley (Laramie: University of Wyoming, 1966), pp. 67-74; Michael G. Robinson, *Water for the West: The Bureau of Reclamation, 1902-1977* (Chicago: Public Works Historical Society, 1979), pp. 10, 12, 15, 16.
3. T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), pp. 319, 377-385; Gene M. Gressley, "Arthur Powell Davis, Reclamation, and the West," *Agricultural History*, XLII (July 1968): 255-256. Pinchot denied charges that his agency included non-forested land in National Forests with reckless abandon, as Forest Service opponents had alleged; but he insisted on creating forest reserves unrelentingly "as soon as practicable," and on all land having "chief value for forest reserve purposes." Pinchot to F. R. Gooding, March 23, 1906, Frank R. Gooding Papers, Idaho State Archives, Boise. In 1906, Congress prohibited Pinchot's agency from establishing new forest reserves unilaterally.
4. Robinson, *Water for the West*, pp. 21, 24.
5. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, pp. 355-357; Johnston to James Stephenson, Jr., May 23, 1908, Idaho Reclamation Records, Collection AR-20, Idaho State Archives, Box 13. This collection hereafter cited IRR.
6. Johnston to Wayne Darlington, September 1, 1904, Box 2, IRR.
7. Johnston to F. H. Newell (copy), May 23, 1908, Johnston to Stephenson, May 23, December 2, 1908, Box 13, IRR. For Toponce's own account of his Old West experiences, see: *Reminiscences of Alexander Toponce Written by Himself*, edited by Robert A. Griffen (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971 ed.).
8. *The West and the East: An Appeal*, as cited in *Miscellaneous Speeches of Burton L. French* (Washington, D.C.: 1908), p. 10, copy in Burton L. French Papers, Miami University Library, Oxford, Ohio.
9. Howard C. Leavitt to Stephenson, January 26, 1905, Box 2, IRR; and for a contemporary appraisal of Wyoming's reclamation potential at private hands, see: William E. Smythe, *The Conquest of Arid America* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1899, 1905, reprinted 1969), pp. 228-29.
10. Johnston to Darlington, September 1, 1904, Box 2, IRR; *Twin Falls (Idaho) News*, November 11, 1904, p. 1.
11. Johnston to Stephenson, February 26, 1908, Box 13, IRR.
12. Johnston to Stephenson, March 28, June 2, 1908, Stephenson to Johnston, June 8, 1908, *ibid*.
13. Johnston to Porter, January 25, 1908 (copy), *ibid*. The letter here reproduced, except for omission of irrelevant statements, has been edited to correct minor misspellings.
14. Johnston here alluded to the work of soil scientist Franklin Hiram King (1848-1911), and probably to King's *A Textbook of the Physics of Agriculture* (Madison, Wisconsin: By the author, 1900, 1901, 1903, 1907), or possibly to King's *The Soil; Its Nature, Relations and Fundamental Principles of Management* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1902) or one of several subsequent editions.
15. Swain to Johnston, March 18, 1908 (copy), Box 13, IRR. The document has been edited to correct a few errors in spelling and punctuation.
16. Swain referred here to Ernst Wilhelm Ferdinand Ebermayer (1829-1908), a German scientist; for a translation of Ebermayer's writing to which Swain almost certainly referred in his letter, see *Ebermayer's Experiments on Forest Meteorology*, Translated from Ebermayer's Original Work and Converted into English Units by Robert E. Horton (Battle Creek, Michigan: 1911).
17. Stephenson to Johnston, April 14, 1908, Box 13, IRR.
18. Johnston to Swain, March 21, 1908 (copy), and Johnston to Stephenson, March 26, 1908, *ibid*.
19. Johnston to Swain, March 21, 1908 (copy), *ibid*. The document has been edited to correct a few misspellings, and certain irrelevant phrases and personal asides in Johnston's letter are also omitted here.
20. Here Johnston referred to writings of James William Toumey (1865-1932), most likely to Toumey's "The Relation of Forests to Stream Flow," *United States Department of Agriculture Yearbook*, 1903 (Washington, D.C.: 1904), pp. 279-288.
21. An engineering and construction contractor with offices at Chicago, Arnold and Company sent Rosecrans to the West in 1908. His primary assignments were to evaluate hydroelectric power "possibilities" of several streams and to study the potential of certain Carey Act reclamation tracts. Mostly this work was on behalf of an Arnold and Company client, J. G. White and Company of New York City. Rosecrans to Stephenson, April 20, June 1, 1908, Box 14, IRR.

BOOK REVIEWS

Cowgirls, Women of the American West: An Oral History, by Teresa Jordan (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1982). Illus. Bibliography. Index. 301 pp. Cloth. \$19.95.

Teresa Jordan certainly earns her spurs with this contemporary portrait of the American cowgirl as a separate and distinct version of the mythic American cowboy. Ms. Jordan traveled over 60,000 miles to interview women throughout the West who speak about their lives on ranches, the courage and stamina needed to take the reins of ranch management after the death of a spouse, and their love and understanding of the Western landscape as a unique ecosystem which should not be abused by overgrazing or development. What emerges from this fine collection of interview material, historic and contemporary photographs, and excerpted anecdotes is a portrait of the rural western woman in the 20th century as a solid and resilient equal to her male counterpart. Thirty women talk candidly about family pressure to stay home to cook and clean as well as the difficulties encountered in pursuing careers as women ranchers in a world traditionally dominated by men.

The late Marie Bell, the author's great aunt, lived at Iron Mountain, Wyoming. She described having to wear dresses and stay in the saddle:

When I was real little I rode in dresses, 'cause they didn't have pants for kids or anything. Then I started wearing divided skirts. They were short—they came up just below your knees. They would flap, and oh, they just scared a horse to death. We'd tie them down with pieces of twine or rawhide. Course, the horse would get used to them pretty quick. The first time I wore Levi's my mother had a fit. I forget how old I was, but I must have been around twenty, because I'd been away to school. Mother just thought it was terrible, but they were a whole lot safer than divided skirts.

The cowgirls, ranch women and female ranch hands in this book are iconoclasts who spend their long working days on horseback and in pickup trucks checking for breaks in fences, helping with difficult livestock pregnancies, and

constantly being on the alert for potentially dangerous changes in the weather—lightning and range fires in the summer, blizzards and drifting snow in winter. These women work just as hard as any cowboys. They are totally at home on the range.

In her introduction, Teresa Jordan defines the first woman stereotype in the West as the prairie madonna, or 19th century earth mother with long calico skirts and a babe in each arm. Jordan then begins each interview segment with a brief description of the woman interviewed and tells us who the lady is, where she lives, what she looks like and where the interview took place. Jordan lets the women speak for themselves which they do, admirably. Mildred Kanipe from near Oakland, Oregon, says, "I was my daddy's only boy. He taught me everything I know. I say I learned from an expert, 'cause boy he was." She continues, "I must have been around eighteen when I bought the first land. I wasn't even grown yet. But I wanted land. I had to have me some land." Kanipe's words are echoed by almost every one of the interviewees who speak poignantly of their relationship to the soil and their deep desire to continue ranching and to expand their operations even in the face of declining market prices for livestock.

Born and raised on a ranch in southeastern Wyoming, the Yale-educated author, Teresa Jordan, has that knack unique to oral historians and cultural journalists of getting people to speak candidly about themselves. The women she interviewed must have felt comfortable and relaxed in her presence. They talk openly about marriage and divorce, losing fathers and husbands in ranch accidents, problems with alcoholism, and the inevitable loneliness that comes from physical isolation and the responsibilities inherent in making irrevocable financial decisions about cattle and crops. Maggie Howell, a ranch hand for the Miller ranches south of Daniel, Wyoming, says, "I get lonely out here. Sure. Of course. God, yeah. But that's part of the price of this kind of work. I prefer loneliness to crowds of people in big cities."

Teresa Jordan explains those drawbacks and the demanding environment of working ranch women. She has written ten chapters which describe cowgirls born to ranching, cowgirls who married ranchers, cowgirls who returned to the home places and cowgirls who worked as professional rodeo stars up to 1941—the old “Wild Bunch” as opposed to the “New Breed” members of the Girls Rodeo Association. Jordan writes about women from both eras.

Interspersed among the interviews and photographs are brief excerpts from numerous first person accounts by Western women. The excerpts’ juxtaposition between interview segments sometimes break the flow of thought for the reader who must turn the page to finish the excerpt and then go back to finish the interview, but the anecdotes are worthwhile and they frequently serve to clarify or elaborate on material from the oral histories.

Jordan’s *Cowgirls* is a testament to farm and ranch life. Perhaps she should also have interviewed those ranch women, like those ranch men, who found the life too hard and the economic constraints too rigid and so abandoned their dreams to take jobs in small towns away from the vast expanses of gram grass and blue sky. In her epilogue Jordan notes, “I have seldom entered a countrywoman’s home without being met by a perfunctory apology for the housekeeping. Then there is the apology for dress, for the roughness of hands, the untidiness of hair. I have to get through the apologies to find the honest pride in a life well lived.”

Jordan has found that honest pride. These women tell their stories as if the reader were right beside them drinking a cup of hot, black coffee in some spacious ranch kitchen. No more will American cowboys have to ride into the sunset alone, but then to read these cowgirls’ stories—they never did.

ANDREW GULLIFORD

The reviewer has done extensive work in local and community history and is the author of America’s Country Schools (1984), published by The Preservation Press, National Trust for Historic Preservation.

Westering Man: The Life of Joseph Walker, by Bil Gilbert (New York: Atheneum, 1983.) viii + 339 pp. Maps, addendum, notes, bibliography, index. \$17.95.

In 1832, the most lavishly outfitted fur brigade yet to leave Missouri departed for the heart of the mountain trade, the “Valley of the Green” in what is now Wyoming. This caravan, guided by Joseph Walker, would be the first to roll supply wagons through the shadow of South Pass blazing the way for the hordes of immigrants that would carve the Oregon Trail.

Notable as it may seem, this was not the first nor the last of Walker’s outstanding exploits. His remarkable achievements spread across half a century of the American West. What is more remarkable, however, is the realization that Joseph Walker’s contributions to the “Western movement” have not been emblazoned in the annals of Western exploration.

Now, a new biography by writer-historian Bil Gilbert has put Walker in his proper place as one of the West’s few remaining unsung heroes. Previous biographical efforts have fallen short of a complete and accurate accounting, but *Westering Man* emerges among them as a factual and illuminating work. Gilbert whips new insight into the life of Joseph Rutherford Walker, including a correct middle name, not done by previous historians.

Uncovering the events and circumstances of “Captain Joe’s” story presented a nightmare of research problems for Gilbert. Constantly flicking in and out of recorded history, Walker’s whereabouts surface in the period journals, but then disappear again with months of absence. In addition, many first-hand details of his travels were swept away with his diary in the crossing of a fast river.

The apparent ambiguity of Walker’s saga is due in part to the fact that he stayed very low key. He was not a braggart, unlike many of his contemporaries, and managed to avoid the literary stare of the public eye—for that matter the eye of the historian as well.

Nevertheless, Gilbert has pieced together the scattered sources and traces Walker through five decades of frontier experience. He moves from the shadowy days of the Sante Fe trade to the provocative era of the mountain men, from the years as guide, peacemaker and explorer to his reluctant return to civilization.

Many of his expeditions are marvelous adventures in the making of the American West. With his band of trappers, he was the first to cross the central Sierra to the Pacific coast. He later guided the first wagon train to California. His epic journey to the Prescott gold fields of Arizona left the military and historians alike, bedazzled with his strategies and logistics.

Although a definitive biography of Joseph Walker may not be possible, Gilbert’s effort certainly comes close. The depth of his research shows throughout the text strengthened by the extensive notes and bibliography following it. His assessments are evenhanded and strike a nice balance between the scholarly and popular study of frontiersmen. For the broad minded historian *Westering Man* provides a cornucopia of 19th century Americana. For those who delight in following the frontier spirit, this book will provide ample spice for thought.

GARY WILSON

Wilson is Director of the Museum of the Mountain Men in Pinedale.

Many Tender Ties. By Sylvia Van Kirk (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983) Index. Bib. Notes. 242 pp. Paper, \$9.95; Cloth, \$21.50.

This book was first published in Winnipeg in 1980. Whether it was originally published in English or French is not stated. Since this is an American edition, however, the text would flow more smoothly if the French phrases were omitted, and English used throughout. After several

repetitions of *a la facon du pays* I decided it meant something like "common-law wife" in the context in which it was used. It was still annoying because it disrupted the word flow.

In spite of this irritation, the book is good. The subject of women in the fur trade has never before been fully explored.

Since there were no white women, the desirability of the Indian women was enhanced. They cemented the fur trader-Indian tie and therefore had an impact on the trade. While the Indian women played a significant role in the early fur trade, Indian men never were considered a part of fur-trade society.

Indian women brought work skills to marriage that white women could not in an environment foreign to them. Many permanent families developed. There were, however, some problems. Hudson Bay Company employees could not take their native wives to England when they retired, nor could they remain on the North American continent. This caused break-ups of long-standing family relationships. The North West Company had no such restrictions. The Hudson Bay Company paid for the support of a wife, whereas this was not true of the North West Company.

While many traders did not like leaving their Indian wives and families behind, they usually took a white wife after retirement in England.

Marriage to a fur trader offered Indian women an alternate life style and a relief from their traditional life. This induced other Indian women to try it. Traders married Indian women over a long period, but the Indian women gradually lost out to mixed blood women as daughters of mixed marriages reached marriageable age. Finally, by the 19th century, if a white man married an Indian woman he was criticized and Indian women lost status. Trader fathers pushed their mixed blood daughters toward acculturation and education. By this time, white women immigrated, married traders and replaced Indian and mixed blood women as wives.

Many Tender Ties is well researched and is a valuable contribution to the fur-trade literature.

MARION M. HUSEAS

The reviewer was formerly the Curator of History at the Wyoming State Museum.

Museum Masters: Their Museums and Their Influence, by Edward P. Alexander (Nashville: The American Association for State and Local History, 1983). Notes. Index. Illus. 428 pp. \$22.95.

Edward P. Alexander provides an examination of the evolution of museum administrative practices through this collection of twelve brief biographical sketches. The eleven men and one woman whom Alexander identifies as museum masters each guided their respective museums in innovative directions which continue to have significance today. This study examines a variety of museum

types ranging from museums of natural history, art and cultural history to botanical gardens, zoos, historic houses and open-air museums.

A number of similarities unite this assemblage of museum masters. All were of western European or American birth. Most were figures of the 18th and 19th centuries. A sizeable number of the museum masters received their inspiration from industrial exhibits and world's fair expositions. George Brown Goode, for example, acquired his museum indoctrination while working to organize displays at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia. He later put this experience to good use when he became director of the United States National Museum of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. Perhaps most importantly, Alexander stresses that all twelve of the museum innovators emphasized the educational function of museums. They did not view museums as mere artifact repositories, but rather as institutions where knowledge could be disseminated to the visiting public.

Alexander's background qualifies him as something of a museum master in his own right. He has directed both the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and the New York State Historical Association, founded the American Association for State and Local History, served as supervisor of interpretation at Colonial Williamsburg and launched the University of Delaware's museum studies program. Despite his experience as an educator, administrator and academician, *Museum Masters* should interest a broad audience including travelers and museum aficionados. Alexander appeals to the general reader through a combination of lively prose and an ability to accentuate the struggles, controversies and triumphs which marked his subjects' lives. Nevertheless, this work will prove most valuable to museum experts concerned with their profession's traditions.

BRUCE J. NOBLE

The reviewer is Monuments and Markers Historian for the Wyoming Historic Preservation Office.

A Taste of the West: Essays in Honor of Robert G. Athearn. Edited by Duane A. Smith (Boulder: Pruett Publishing Co., 1983). Illus. Notes, Index. xii + 186 pp. Cloth, \$17.95.

There exists in the academy a kind of intellectual genealogy—a line of scholars whose thinking and writing influences, directly or indirectly, the shaping of any one student. According to this pedigree, the new doctorate's mentor is the father, the mentor's mentor the grandfather, and so on. Those of us interested in the history of the American West usually trace our intellectual roots back to Frederick Jackson Turner. *A Taste of the West* is, in essence, a selected intellectual genealogy of the Western historians sired by the late Robert G. Athearn of the University of Colorado.

This slim volume consists of ten essays by former Athearn students, whom Duane A. Smith collectively describes as "a motley group whose interests range from Chicago Cubs history to a host of equally esoteric topics, such as saloons, the New Deal, and missionaries on the frontier (p. xii)." Their mentor, forsaking the all-too-common practice of narrow specialization, wrote on a wide variety of Western topics, including railroad history, the military, foreigners in the West, Colorado history and blacks in Kansas. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that the selections presented here reflect a similarly broad assortment of subjects, which in turn truly enables the book to provide the reader with "a taste of the West."

Few themes of Western history are not touched upon in this anthology. Indian policy during the Reconstruction era serves as the topic of essays by Norman Bender and William E. Unrau. Various aspects of the Rocky Mountain mining frontier are explored by David Halaas, Duane A. Smith and David H. Stratton. Contributions by Maxine Benson and Elliot West deal with the increasingly popular subject of women in the West. David Emmon's discourse on the safety-valve theory and directed emigration concerns yet another facet of the region's social history. The range cattle industry is the focus for Harmon Mothershead's donation. Finally, Steve Mehls and Carol Drake (Athearn's only husband/wife team of graduate students) trace the genesis of the multiple-use philosophy for public lands to Colorado congressman Edward T. Taylor. All this represents but a sample of the scholarship by 28 Ph.D.s molded by Athearn during his 35 year teaching career at Boulder.

As may be expected in a work covering so many topics, its value will be conditioned by each reader's own particular tastes. All the essays are well-written and soundly researched, so those with a broad interest in Western history will enjoy this book. Students of Wyoming history will find Mothershead's "Protection to Promotion in the Range Cattle Industry" especially noteworthy. In this piece, the author relates the experiments tried by cattlemen during the late-19th century to adapt to a rapidly industrializing society. His description of the attempts to adjust include the Wyoming Stock Growers Association as an example of statewide organization and the Swan Land and Cattle Company as an illustration of corporate accommodation to the changing times. Some Wyoming readers may also find interesting Stratton's account of the little-known massacre of 31 Chinese gold miners in Idaho's Hell Canyon in 1887, an incident akin to Wyoming's Rock Springs Massacre two years earlier.

A Taste of the West will also have a special appeal to the many who knew, and knew of, Robert G. Athearn. For this book is as much about him as its actual contents. Throughout his long career, Athearn contributed greatly to the field of Western history, a fact formally recognized in 1983 when he received the inaugural Western History

Association Prize, given in recognition of a distinguished body of writing by a scholar of the West. Sadly, he passed away shortly after receiving this prestigious award.

To this, and a long list of other accolades, can be added *A Taste of the West*. As the subtitle clearly indicates, the contributors compiled these essays as a tribute to their mentor. By reflecting Athearn's catholic interests in Western history, his devotion to primary research and his ability to write in clear and lively prose, they have succeeded in doing so.

BILL BRYANS

Bryans is a Ph.D. candidate in the University of Wyoming History Department.

Wild Wind Wild Water. By Lavinia Dobler (Casper, Wyoming: Misty Mountain Press, 1983). 259 pp. Paper, \$8.95.

Beginning with the land lottery in August 1906, the novel portrays the settling of the area around Riverton, Wyoming, and covers the first difficult months of the settlers clearing land and building cabins. In the acknowledgements, the author describes the book as an historical novel about her parents and the other homesteaders living near the Wind River Mountains during the first two decades of the 20th century. Actually the novel covers only the first two years; the epilogue gives the historical facts of the remaining time.

The title of the book originates from the wind blowing across the prairie and the struggle to find water for the undeveloped land. The story is mainly about the building of the irrigation systems necessary to bring life to the arid lands.

The Wyoming Central Irrigation Company, under the direction of salt magnate Joy Morton of Chicago and Fenimore Chatterton, then serving as Wyoming's Secretary of State, was formed to develop an irrigation distribution system for the new homesteads. The approximate 1,150,000 acres of undeveloped land north of the Wind River had recently been ceded from the Shoshone Indian Reservation, now called the Wind River Reservation. Chatterton believed that 350,000 acres of the sagebrush covered prairie could be brought under cultivation if irrigation canals were built.

Prospective settlers from the eastern states were lured by a pamphlet describing the fruits of farming in Wyoming. The problem was that until the irrigation system was built, farming was all but impossible, and until the farmers made money on their crops, they could not afford to pay for the canal systems. So it was a difficult situation and many of the first homesteaders did not succeed.

Instead of the 100,000 people expected to migrate to central Wyoming, only about 10,000 applied for homesteads, and not all of those names were drawn in the land lottery. In the end only about 600 claimed their homesteads. So right from the beginning, the Irrigation Company was working with fewer farmers than expected; yet

the expenses for building the irrigation system were as high as predicted for the larger numbers. While the Wyoming Central Irrigation Company had solid financial backing to begin with and worked closely with the state engineer, problems grew and years passed before the promised canals were completed. As described in the epilogue, the company's five-year irrigation contract was canceled by the state engineer in 1910 and Morton, president of the company, was reported to have lost \$300,000.

This novel is an interesting mixture of fact and fiction. The basic story is factual: for instance, some of the letters written by the state engineer to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington are quoted verbatim. Most of the historic personages are correctly named; however, one of the main characters, Secretary of State Fenimore Chatterton, is called Felix Chesterton, and Joy Morton is referred to as Norton. Since the Governor is correctly named, why isn't the Secretary of State? These inconsistencies bothered the reviewer. Some editorial inaccuracies are also noted: the state engineer is sometimes referred to as Clarence Johnston (correct) and other times as Johnson (incorrect).

One misrepresentation of the book concerns Wyoming's water law. The book constantly refers to the "selling of water rights." In actuality all that is sold is the right to the conveyance. Wyoming's Constitution states that water within the boundaries of the State is the property of the State; and water rights are accorded to priority of appropriation for beneficial use.

Other problems with this book are poor editing. Words are often incorrectly broken at ends of lines (for example, voi-ce, scra-ped, wal-king, ten-ts, etc. etc). Omission of opening or closing of quotations occurs many times. One blatant example of an editorial mistake is on page 196. The quotation reads, "must ever" instead of "must never," thus removing the meaning of the sentence.

There are two central themes in this book: the meeting, falling in love and marriage of two homesteaders (fictionalized names of Dobler's parents); and the history of the Wyoming Central Irrigation Company. The basic historic information is correctly presented. Therefore, the novel has value for reading buffs of early Wyoming and Western Americana.

ANNE MCGOWAN

The reviewer is the Librarian for the Department of Economic Planning and Development, and enjoys writing historical novels.

Conversations With Wallace Stegner on Western History and Literature. By Wallace Stegner and Richard W. Etulain (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983). Index. Illus. viii + 207 pp. Cloth, \$15.00.

Only rarely, perhaps, does a book appear that can appeal to almost anyone interested in the history, literature or contemporary life of the American West. Such a book is *Conversations with Wallace Stegner*, eminent author of fiction and historical works of the West. About four years ago,

Richard Etulain, professor of history at the University of New Mexico and editor of the *New Mexico Historical Review*, sat down with Stegner at his California home and queried him on his life's work. This volume is the highly stimulating result.

The initial chapters mainly center on Stegner's fiction. As a young boy on the plains of Saskatchewan, Stegner tells us, he developed a strong sense of place and of the growing pains a frontier society suffers. Perhaps no other work reflected this upbringing as well as the *Big Rock Candy Mountain*, and here we learn how the author "was exorcising" his own father in the chief character Bo Mason (p. 42). We learn too that the novel was influenced by Frederick Jackson Turner, that Stegner examined "the ending of the frontier and what it does psychologically to whole bodies of people" (p. 61). Etulain astutely probes Stegner on his other novels, *Joe Hill*, *Wolf Willow*, *Recapitulation* and the Pulitzer-prize winning *Angle of Repose*. Yet the replies are not merely the author's musing on his own works, attractive only to devotees of literature. Stegner combines commentary on his writings with thoughtful observations about American and western American culture, past and present.

Western historians will relish the conversations concerning Mormon history and culture, romantic myths of the cowboy and mountain man, the modern West as a pacesetter of American culture and the wilderness West. These chapters cannot easily be summarized nor would it do to try because they must be savored. The further one reads the more one marvels at Stegner's knowledge, integrity and candor. The book is nicely edited and retains the flavor of the conversations. One shortcoming is the lack of a good introduction outlining Stegner's career. Still, this is a fascinating glimpse into the mind of a major American writer and into the region "beyond the hundredth meridian" to which he has devoted his distinguished career.

MARK W. T. HARVEY

Harvey has done graduate work in the History Department of the University of Wyoming and has had an article published in a previous issue of *Annals of Wyoming*.

Crucible for Conservation: The Creation of Grand Teton National Park. By Robert W. Righter (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1982). Notes. Bib. Illus. Maps. 192 pp. \$12.50.

Crucible for Conservation describes the creation of Grand Teton National Park. Author Robert W. Righter consulted private and public documents, publications and participants to create a carefully constructed case study of the conservation movement. The book is useful as a detailed examination of the personalities, motivations and passions as well as the major philosophic and political issues accompanying conservation.

Crucible is built upon Alfred Runte's thesis that America's natural features take the place of a viable natural culture. Americans thus have a national interest in preserv-

ing their country's natural features and resources. This interest flowered into a movement for conservation in the 1890s, when realization grew that natural resources were limited. That movement caught up the future park area in Wyoming's northeast corner, including the Grand Teton Mountains and the area immediately to their east, Jackson Hole. 1898 and 1919 attempts to give the area national park status failed. Often heated maneuver and compromise followed, culminating in a 1929 park encompassing only the mountains. Jackson Hole joined them in 1950 to create the present park.

Private, commercial and public interests, as well as forces typifying the conservation movement, shaped the 52 year struggle. Participants line up along the dominant opposing philosophies, utilitarian and preservationist, in the conservation movement. Utilitarians opposed the park. Anticipating efficient commercial exploitation of the area's natural resources, such as lumber, grazing land and scenery, they feared federal control would preclude development. The utilitarians included the U.S. Forest Service, ranchers and hotel owners. Preservationists, favoring the park, believed natural resources should remain in an untouched primal state for their aesthetic value. Those espousing the preservationist doctrine included the National Park Service, local residents and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who purchased much of Jackson Hole to save it from development.

Maps and photographs highlight the clearly written narrative. Descriptions of the magnificent scenery, "tawdry" dancehalls and the participants' often histrionic remarks supplement discussion of the issues, making *Crucible* pleasurable as well as informative to read. Righter does seem to be a preservationist, and at times apparently joins the battle against the utilitarians, pronouncing the preservation of natural beauty a "noble cause" (p. 152). However, there are but few examples of this distinctly minor shortcoming, which do nothing to cloud an otherwise effective preservation.

STEVEN AGORATUS

The reviewer is a graduate student in the Department of History, Carnegie-Mellon University.

A Passion for Freedom: The Life of Sharlot Hall. By Margaret F. Maxwell (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982) Index. Bib. Illus. 234 pp. Cloth, \$17.50.

In Prescott, Arizona, one may visit the Territorial Governor's Mansion and, just to the west of it, the Sharlot Hall Museum. Who was this woman who earned a museum in her name? Margaret Maxwell meticulously combed archival material from numerous libraries and collections to piece together the myriad facts and forces that combine to form the life story of the unusual and noteworthy Sharlot Hall.

Raised on the Kansas and Arizona ranching frontiers of the 1870s and 1880s, young Sharlot had ample opportunity to learn the drudgery of daily ranch chores, but little opportunity for formal schooling. Still, she read voraciously and developed the bright, charming assertiveness that was to characterize her adult personality. As a young woman she gained recognition in the literary world by publishing poetry and journal articles. Bitterly resentful of the matrimonial bondage that she observed in her mother's life and in the lives of women around her, Sharlot welcomed writing as an avenue to financial and social independence.

Philosophically a representative pioneer, Ms. Hall was devoted to Manifest Destiny and the boosting of her home territory. An active lobbyist in the successful 1906 battle against joint statehood for Arizona and New Mexico and an ardent collector of prehistoric artifacts and local pioneer memorabilia, Ms. Hall believed she had earned the post of territorial historian when the office was created in March of 1909. By October of that year she secured the position, but not without conflict. Within three years she lost the office, a victim of the same style of political maneuvering she had used to gain it. Later, a legal conflict with her publishing company resulted in her agreement to never fulfill her dream to publish a history of Arizona. Thwarted in these aspects of her career and tormented by personal problems, Hall retired for nearly twelve years from public life. Her renewed contribution to Arizona came in the form of her personal restoration of the Territorial Governor's Mansion in Prescott and the building of the museum next to it to house her collections. Here she worked until her death in 1943.

Poet, activist, historian—Sharlot Hall was a gifted, fiercely independent woman at a time when few women shared her "passion for freedom." Maxwell's sensitive biography, generously laced with Sharlot's own words, provides an admiring tribute to this complex woman whose poetry, pluck and public service earned her a prominent place on the roster of significant Arizona pioneers.

KAREN M. EASTON

The reviewer is a Graduate Assistant in the History Department of the University of Wyoming.

Nearby History: Exploring the Past Around You. By David E. Kyvig and Myron A. Marty (Nashville, Tenn.: American Association for State and Local History, 1982). Preface. Index. Illus. Bibliog. Appendix. 300 pp. Cloth, \$16.95.

David E. Kyvig and Myron A. Marty have successfully collaborated on a previous book, *Your Family History: A Handbook for Research and Writing* (1978) but their recent work, *Nearby History*, provides an even broader approach to community and family history, architectural history and documentary photography.

As with other books published by the American Association for State and Local History, *Nearby History* is an invaluable resource for students, scholars, genealogists, librarians, local history buffs and anyone else for whom historical research with primary sources is either a vocation or an avocation. Kyvig and Marty not only help to legitimize the growing field of community history, but by writing this thorough and well-researched book they draw together in one volume the seemingly disparate threads of current historical materials and techniques.

French historians of the Annales School and Marc Bloch in particular, began 40 years ago to look at French history not just as the pageantry of politicians and generals, of kings and their elusive kingdoms, but also as the history of the common man. What emerged was a comparative study of the French people which focused on villages and their environments instead of Versailles and its gardens. French historians had turned historical scholarship end for end. The late Ray Allen Billington described this process as "History from the bottom up." David Kyvig and Myron Marty give it a new name—nearby history.

The acceptance of this "new" social history met with initial skepticism in the United States because academic historians were too busy defining the American character and the American mind. They used weak mortar to cement a consensus view of American history that within the last twenty years has fallen apart. The celebrated American melting pot is now more accurately described as an ethnic mosaic and women and minority groups are at last given the space they deserve in history textbooks.

As Kyvig and Marty succinctly note in their first chapter "Why Nearby History?"

The authors believe that every person's world has a history which is useful, exciting and possible to explore. Rather than identify this past as "local" or "community" history as some have done and limit it to a concept of *place*, or call it "family history" and restrict it to a concept of *relationship*, or talk about material culture and confine the discussion to *objects*, we have chosen the term "nearby history" to include the entire range of possibilities in a person's environment.

Kyvig and Marty explore those possibilities in twelve chapters which are broad enough to accurately introduce the subject to someone in need of perspective and a methodological frame of reference. A survey book such as this with chapters entitled "Traces and Storytelling," "Published Documents," "Unpublished Documents," "Oral Documents," "Visual Documents" and "Artifacts" offers an excellent point of departure for serious application of these materials and techniques. Each chapter is clear and concise although some passages border on the simplistic because they rephrase obvious statements.

At the conclusion of each chapter is an extremely valuable bibliographic essay which thoroughly charts the terrain and helps to compensate for the short examples given in the text. Interspersed among the chapters are

photographs, maps, historical advertisements and excerpts from oral histories, family histories and community histories.

The authors state that "The emotional rewards of learning about a past which has plainly and directly affected one's own life cannot be duplicated by any other type of historical inquiry." *Nearby History* offers a set of coherent and understandable guidelines for these local as well as academic historians seeking to utilize new materials and techniques within their professional research repertoire.

David E. Kyvig and Myron A. Marty are to be commended for giving us the sources and resources to better understand the near-by world around us. Published in 1982 and already into its second printing a year later, *Nearby History* should prove to be a valuable tool to local historians.

Additional photo caption material would have helped to explain ambiguities in the photographs and longer excerpts from family and neighborhood histories would have helped to illustrate the authors' points, but *Nearby History* is an excellent resource which should serve long and well the ever-expanding community of historians for which it was written.

ANDREW GULLIFORD

The reviewer has done extensive work in local and community history and is the author of America's Country Schools (1984), published by The Preservation Press, National Trust for Historic Preservation.

Railroad Maps of North America: The First Hundred Years. Compiled by Andrew M. Modelski (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division; for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1984). Bib. Illus. Maps (some colored), Index. xxi, 186 pp. \$28.00. Government Printing Office Stock Number: 030-004-00021-3.

Andrew Modelski and the Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress are to be commended for compiling and producing such an exquisite and organized atlas. The 92 maps selected for the atlas provide an excellent representation of the maps produced during this continent's first 100 years of railroads. Each map is accompanied by a complete bibliographic citation, dimensions of the map and a short, but informative, narrative that describes the map and provides a description of the railroad line, system, etc.

The introduction serves as an excellent overview to the development of railroads in the United States, Canada and Mexico. It also covers the building of the transcontinental railroad, mapmaking and printing, the progress of new printing techniques and the growth of mapping.

The atlas is divided into three sections; each section devoted to one of the three countries noted. The choice of maps selected is well-balanced and varied. For example, the section on the United States includes coverage of the eastern and western railroad surveys, general, regional and travelers' maps, railroad lines and terminal maps.

The quality of the reproductions are excellent and some are in color. Nine of the maps include enlargements which provide much greater detail. One may browse through any section to locate material or use the index which is very complete. Information on ordering black and white photo reproductions, color transparencies of the maps and photographic reprints of the illustrations from the Photoduplication Service of the Library of Congress is also included.

Railroad Maps of North America is highly recommended, especially for any library with a railroad, history or Western Americana collection. The reasonable price and the quality of the atlas make it a worthwhile and extremely useful acquisition for any library or individual with an interest in railroads.

JIM WALSH

Walsh is the Maps/Documents Librarian at Coe Library, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Dude Ranching, A Complete History by Lawrence R. Borne (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983) Index. Illus. Bib. Notes. Appendix. 322 pp. \$24.95.

This well-researched book is a complete history starting with the first dude ranch, OTO, opened by Dick Randall, a hunting guide, on Cedar Creek in Montana in 1898.

In 1879 Howard Eaton, a rancher at Medora, North Dakota, liked the beauty of the Bad Lands there so much he invited his eastern friends to come for visits. In 1903, he moved to Sheridan County, Wyoming, and settled on Wolf Creek in the Big Horn Mountains. Eaton and his brothers, Alden and Willis, sent out brochures and built cabins. They had 70 paying guests by 1904. These were middle class families on vacations, not hunting parties. The ranch of more than 7000 acres also raised cattle and horses. In 1903, a road was opened to the east entrance of Yellowstone Park. Trips were made there from the Eaton Ranch.

Novelist Mary Roberts Rinehart often stayed at the Eaton Ranch, where she wrote, and took pack trips. Other famous guests there included Teddy Roosevelt and Will Rogers.

The word "dude" originated as western slang in the 1880s. It had no bad connotation but meant an eastern non-resident who stayed on a ranch, usually paying for his sojourn.

Dude ranching grew rapidly in Wyoming, Montana and Colorado, then spread to Idaho, Nevada, Arizona and

New Mexico. During depression days, it helped ranchers survive drought and low livestock prices.

This is an excellent book for all present-day dude ranchers. It is full of hints on how best to succeed and run a better business. It is also fine reading for the elderly and those who can't go to a dude ranch: the story of riding and camping in beautiful mountains. It re-awakens memories to those who have been a dude.

The book concludes with a discussion of how present government policy forbids horseback riding in National Parks. Other governmental restrictions and regulations pertinent to dude ranching are also discussed. This information may be useful to those planning a career in that field or a summer visit to a Western dude ranch.

MAE URBANEK

The reviewer is the author of numerous books on Western topics including *Wyoming Place Names* and *Ghost Trails of Wyoming*.

Jackson Hole Journal. By Nathaniel Burt (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1983) Illus. Index. 221 pp. Paper \$16.95.

The author, Nathaniel Burt, is the son of Struthers and Katharine Burt, who combined writing with managing a dude ranch. He was born on the kitchen table in a log cabin in Jackson Hole.

Nathaniel Burt begins his story in 1910 and continues to 1970, covering early dude ranching, the establishment of Grand Teton National Park and the Jackson Hole of today.

He answers many questions concerning the establishment of Grand Teton National Park. The Jackson businessmen, ranchers and dude-ranchers were against the park promoters. They cited loss of taxes, government interference in Teton County and the take-over of their business by non-residents as justification for their stance.

The promoters wanted to preserve Jackson Hole as it was, and not ruin the beauty of the valley. They wanted to conserve the timber and lakes. In the end the Rockefeller money assisted in establishing the Grand Teton National Park.

The conservationists and the businessmen seem to be living in harmony in Jackson Hole today.

ELLEN CRAGO MUELLER

The reviewer is the author of the biographical histories *Wild Bill Hickok* and *Calamity Jane*.

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CHARLES S. McCAMMON is a retired U.S. Public Health Service physician. Most of his career was spent in the Indian Health Service and included five years in Billings, Montana, as director of that program in Wyoming and Montana. His interest in Wyoming and Montana started much earlier, having grown up on the stories of James Willard Schultz and spending eight weeks camping in the two states in 1935. In addition to B.A. and M.D. degrees he has a MPH degree from the University of California, Berkeley. Besides several medical and historical articles he has written for various western horse publications on trail horses and tack. He says that he would like to qualify as an amateur historian but probably would settle for amateur investigative reporter.

VIRGINIA SCHARFF is presently a Ph.D. candidate in history at the University of Arizona in Tucson. She has received her B.A. from Yale and a Masters in history from the University of Wyoming. For a number of years, she has been associated with Wyoming Chautauqua, a touring educational program funded by the Wyoming Council for the Humanities. In that capacity, she has served both as an assistant director and as a performer, portraying Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, and pioneer woman Julia Bright, both important personalities in Wyoming's past. She has produced many scholarly papers and articles, primarily on the subjects of women's rights and suffrage in the American West. In her leisure time, she enjoys cooking, nature study, gardening and politics.

THOMAS F. SCHILZ is originally from Saginaw, Michigan, but since his college days, has made his home in the West. He holds a B.A. in Geography from the University of Houston, and both a M.A. and Ph.D. earned at Texas Christian University in Fort Worth. He has authored an impressive number of scholarly papers and articles on the subject of Native Americans and that ethnic group's trade activities. He presently is a professor at TCU and lists among his affiliations, Organization of American Historians, American Historical Association, Wyoming State Historical Society and the Texas State Historical Association.

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The Wyoming State Historical Society was organized in October, 1953. Membership is open to anyone interested in history. County chapters of the society have been chartered in most of the twenty-three counties of Wyoming. Past presidents of the society include; Frank Bowron, Casper, 1953-55; William L. Marion, Lander, 1955-56; Dr. DeWitt Dominick, Cody, 1956-57; Dr. T. A. Larson, Laramie, 1957-58; A. H. MacDougall, Rawlins, 1958-59; Mrs. Thelma G. Condit, Buffalo, 1959-60; E. A. Littleton, Gillette, 1960-61; Edness Kimball Wilkins, Casper, 1961-62; Charles Ritter, Cheyenne, 1962-63; Neal E. Miller, Rawlins, 1963-65; Mrs. Charles Hord, Casper, 1965-66; Glenn Sweem, Sheridan, 1966-67; Adrian Reynolds, Green River, 1967-68; Curtiss Root, Torrington, 1968-69; Mrs. Hattie Burnstad, Worland, 1969-70; J. Reuel Armstrong, Rawlins, 1970-71; William R. Dubois, Cheyenne, 1971-72; Henry F. Chadey, Rock Springs, 1972-73; Richard S. Dumbrell, Newcastle, 1973-74; Henry Jensen, Casper, 1974-75; Jay Brazelton, Jackson, 1975-76; Ray Pendergraft, Worland, 1976-77; David J. Wadsen, Cody, 1977-78; Mabel Brown, Newcastle, 1978-79; James June, Green River, 1979-80; William F. Bragg, Jr., Casper, 1980-81; Don Hodgson, Torrington, 1981-82, Clara Jensen, Lysite-Casper, 1982-83.

Membership information may be obtained from the Executive Headquarters, Wyoming State Historical Society, Barrett Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming 82002. Dues in the state society are:

Life Membership	\$100
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